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In "National and International Links" (Nash and Grayson, 12s. 6d.) Mr. T. H. S. Escott discourses chattily of all manner of "links" that bind one age, or generation, or nationality, to another. The *motif* of the book, so far as it has a *motif*, is to illustrate how history and historical characters (with especial reference to modern times) have constantly been, and are still, repeating themselves. The book, owing to the fact that it is so largely concerned with the Victorian era, will be particularly interesting to middle-aged and elderly readers, who, in these pages, may renew acquaintance with those days of their youth. The matter of the work is very much better than the style, which not infrequently indicates that sort of "easy writing," which "makes d—d hard reading." A little more attention to the composition of his sentences would well repay Mr. Escott for the effort involved.

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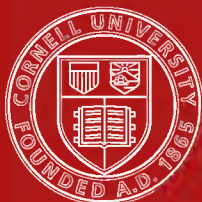
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**NATIONAL AND
INTERNATIONAL LINKS**

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BY

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"SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE," ETC.

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TO
H.M. QUEEN ALEXANDRA

WHOSE ACTIVE CONCERN DURING MORE THAN HALF A
CENTURY FOR WHATEVER CAN PROMOTE THE SOCIAL
WELFARE AND UNION OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES
AND CLASSES LIVING UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN
DEEPENS AS WELL AS QUICKENS THE
WORLD-WIDE SENSE OF A COMMON
LOYALTY, THIS VOLUME IS BY
PERMISSION, AND WITH
LOYAL RESPECT
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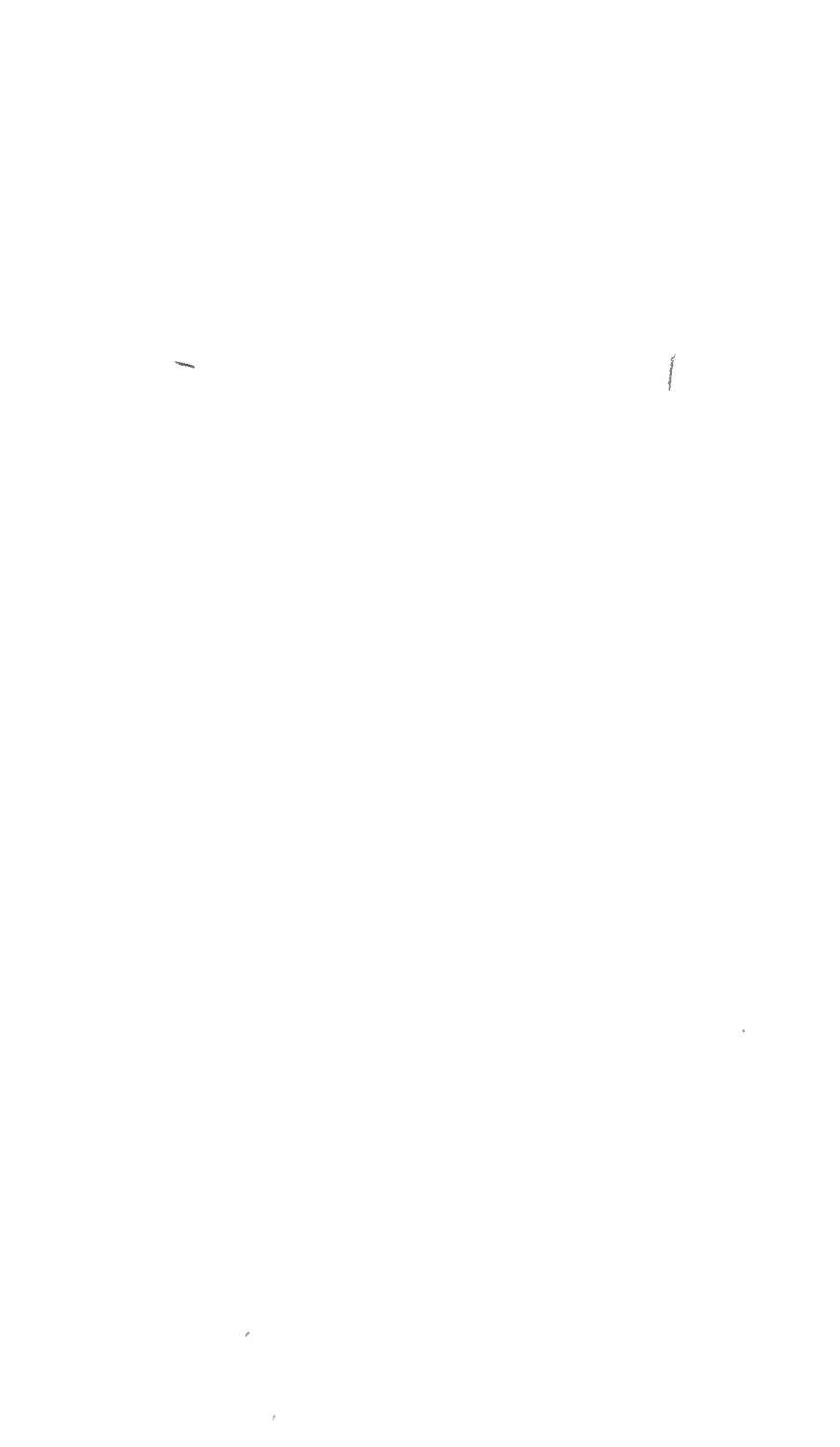
PREFACE

IN the preparation of this volume, wherever dates and opportunities have allowed, the writer has derived or verified details by reference to the authentic information coming from those friends whose experience and position have enabled him, he trusts, to ensure not accuracy alone, but freshness in his presentation of historic details, old or new. Among those to whom in this way he is specially beholden are Viscount Knollys; Lord Stamfordham; Lord Ernle; Lord Fitzmaurice; the late Lord Russell of Liverpool; the late Lord Reay, and the late Viscount Knutsford; the Rev. J. R. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford; the Rev. A. L. Foulkes; the Rev. J. Telford; the Rev. T. J. Bullick; the late United States Ambassador, Dr. Walter Page, nor in a less degree some of those before and after him at the American Embassy in London; Mr. Moreton Frewen; Sir J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P.; and the Foreign Office librarian, Mr. Stephen Gaselee; as well as some others whose good offices he owes to those now named.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

33 SACKVILLE ROAD,
HOVE,
BRIGHTON.

December 1921.



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CHAPTER I

THE COURT AS A NATIONAL AND INTER- NATIONAL LINK

The British monarchy as a connecting link with foreign Courts, capitals and with other centuries—Royal marriages as links—The Court as a European centre—Anglo-Spanish marriages and the alliance with Spain—Aristocracy and serfdom—Royal character—Ancient and modern royalty—Court offices—The Lord Chamberlain—The Gentlemen Ushers—Lords- and Grooms-in-Waiting—The Mistress of the Robes—The Vice-Chamberlain—The Lord Great Chamberlain—The Lord Steward—The Lord Treasurer—The Cofferer—The Lord High Almoner—The King's Private Secretary—Sir Arthur Bigge and Lord Stamfordham—Sir Francis Knollys—The Master of the Horse—Court costume—Prince Consort and Court reforms—The Master of the Household—German ideas and traditions and Queen Victoria—The Queen's love of militarism—German characteristics of the Duchess of Kent—Early life of Victoria—The Queen's first difficulties with her ministers—Victoria's foreign policy—King Edward and his courtiers—Social transformations—Sir Edward Cassel—The Windsor Castle garden-party (June, 1907)—The new era.

THE most conspicuous and far-reaching of the agencies, chiefly personal, now to be described necessarily connect the successive stages in the ceremonial evolution of our monarchy at home with the growth and influence of contemporary Courts abroad. These royal relationships had their effect not on the ordering of the Court

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but on the progress of the people. Ethelwulf's ninth-century pilgrimage to Rome (855) made him the earliest link in the lengthening chain of Anglo-Italian friendship. The royal penitent took with him his fourth and favourite son, then six years old, our future King Alfred, that the child might receive the blessing of his godfather, Pope John VIII, in return for the splendid gifts laid at the Pontiff's feet. Ethelwulf, for some time a widower, also brought back with him to England a second wife in Judith, daughter of Charles the Bold. Two hundred years later there came a fresh connection of insular with continental royalty when King Canute's daughter found a husband in the Emperor Henry III.

Royal journeys overseas were not always of a peaceful character. The great Earl of the West Saxons secured the throne for Edward the Confessor (1042) and gave his daughter, Edith, in marriage to the sovereign whom he had created. A little later the king-maker led the popular movement against the foreign favourites at Court. The issue of the struggle should have proved a warning to later monarchs against repeating the third Edward's mistake; for before his death in 1053 Godwin returned from exile, and raised a force sufficient triumphantly to reinstate himself with his family and to expel the aliens bag and baggage. The Anglo-Saxon palace retains, however, its reputation as the most cosmopolitan centre of Western Europe. Among its guests in 1051 was the bastard son, born by the tanner's daughter to Robert, third Duke of Normandy; the promise of the English succession then, according to the old story, given to that visitor formed the earliest link in the chain of events ending in the Norman Conquest. The vassal of the French king, Philip I, as he stood a victor on the Sussex shore, naturally became the enemy of his suzerain and gave an anti-French bias to his own foreign policy. As a consequence, an increasingly cordial Anglo-Spanish entente lasted throughout the twelfth century. Anglo-Spanish marriages acquired

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associations the very opposite of those belonging to them in the Orleanist period of the nineteenth century. The union of our second Henry's daughter, Eleanor, with Alphonso of Castile between 1154 and 1189, strengthened an international friendship lasting into the sixteenth century. Our first Edward's marriage with a Spanish Eleanor (between 1272 and 1307) not only made our royal family the richest in the world, but extended the national commerce by opening up and organising our wool and coal trades. Before the twelfth century closed our royal marriages connected these islands with every reigning house in Europe, and not with foreign Courts alone. The states of the civilised world were not then separated by their present boundaries. Their inhabitants were divided into two great classes, each comprehending several racial varieties. On the one hand was a feudal aristocracy, chiefly occupied with war or sport, and in the intervals of arms fusing its representatives from all lands in a more or less harmonious and brilliant society; on the other were the panglot labourers belonging to all nationalities under heaven, from the Bosphorus to the Atlantic. In this kaleidoscopic amalgam the Court and society of pre-historic Britain played the part described in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. The half-historic, half-mythical monarch Cunobelinus reflected in that exquisite play lived during the early half of the first century. The dramatist has been censured for anachronism in the swiftness with which he makes his lords and gentlemen pass to and fro between the capitals on the Thames and the Tiber. He was, however, probably pretty true to fact; for nothing is more amazing and at the same time more certain than that the rich and great on our side of the Dover Straits covered the distance separating London from Paris or Rome with an ease, if not with a rapidity, faintly prophetic of the pace at which the twentieth-century globe-trotter "puts a girdle round the earth."

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The evolution of the kingly character forms also a process uniting the centuries with each other in a picturesque series of personal links; each of these was endowed, in varying degrees, with some of those attributes that realised the popular conception of distinctively regal greatness. Shakespeare, looking back through the mists of almost two centuries, saw his exemplar of Crown perfections in the second Lancastrian king who led the English host at Agincourt, the fifth Henry. Most of the gifts best becoming an English ruler had personified themselves in our Anglo-Saxon hero more than five hundred years before this. Alfred was our first monarch to embody the greatest, the most attractive qualities, the patient, enduring force, the devotion to duty, the reserve, the daring, the frank geniality, the artistic, poetic sentiment and the essential religion of the English temper. In this way he founded the best personal tradition of the national monarchy, and in all the details of daily intercourse combined with the loftiness of rank the considerateness, the brightness and the bonhomie which, descending to and displayed by many of his successors, have reconciled the subject to not a little that was resented in the sovereign. Hence the bluff, outspoken, though intensely autocratic Tudors were never really unpopular; and the conversational flashes of Stuart wit in their currency through the realm gilded the pill of Stuart tyranny. Take this as an instance. A seat of the Somerset family near Monmouth is called after the city where King Priam had his palace. In his Monmouthshire wanderings Charles I received a basket of fruit from "Troy House." "I had heard," said the doomed sovereign, "that where Ilium stood there are now cornfields; they never told me that with the wheat there are strawberry beds also." In similar vein, on returning from his long exile, Charles II acknowledged the popular welcome with the remark, "If I could have known you would all be so glad

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to see me, I should have come here long before." Then came the restored monarch's remark about the Civil List: "I am not going to play the Grand Turk." Neither, on the other hand, would he have a lot of fellows in Parliament inquiring into his private affairs. This royal trait was an inheritance from the "merry monarch's" grandfather; for James I entirely deserved his title "the English Solomon," in that his broad Scotch dialect enshrined a blend of humour and sagacity which his immediate successors might have studied to the great advantage of themselves and their line. James himself regarded conversational pleasantry and wit as the royal tradition established by his predecessor, the last Tudor. It was at least continuously cultivated by the sovereigns who came after him, not excepting George I, who, when the Jacobite Deist Bishop Atterbury affected at Court alarm over the progress of the Scottish rebellion, said, "My Lord Bishop, I fear the rebels as little as you do Jesus Christ."

Palace surroundings and administration form the material heritage linking the royal generations in a bond more definite than bearing or speech. The Court of King George V reproduces to-day features of Eastern origin which King Alfred's contemporary, Charlemagne, first brought from the Eastern to the Western World, and is administered on lines largely laid down for his own primitive palace by King Alfred himself. That monarch at least established three classes of Court attendants, each of whom was on duty for a month. Priority among these gradually vested itself in the Chamberlain, sometimes also, it would seem, called *cubicularius*; this functionary had the special charge of the royal stockings, and in his general duties must have foreshadowed the later valet. The office steadily grew in dignity, and was relieved by William Rufus, the great Court organiser of the Norman period, of all menial associations. Under James I it became the blue ribbon of the Court.

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To this department belonged the host of gentlemen ushers as well as others of slightly different name, each from Stuart, if not Anglo-Saxon, days on duty for a fortnight at a time. By far the most august personage with whom the Lord Chamberlain has to do is the Mistress of the Robes. This lady has so far invariably been a Duchess; her precise political position was not settled till 1839, and she connects the organisation of the Victorian Court with that of Queen Anne. From 1327 to 1666 the royal wardrobe was kept in the City, a fact still commemorated by the name formerly given to the church in Queen Victoria Street, "Saint Andrews by the Wardrobe." Shakespeare, too, bequeathed to his favourite daughter Susannah Hall "a house in the Blackfriars, near the Wardrobe." The wife of the hero of Blenheim was the most famous and puissant among those who filled this office during the pre-Victorian period; her tenacity in it raised in 1710 a bedchamber question, having, however, nothing in common with that encountered by Queen Victoria just one hundred and thirty years afterwards. At the earlier date the Whigs had gone out, the Tories had come in, and the Duchess of Marlborough received her congé from the sovereign. She would not go, and was only dislodged after six months of delay and refusal.

The group presided over by the Mistress of the Robes includes eight ladies of the bedchamber, peeresses, one at least being always on the premises; also eight maids of honour, peers' daughters or granddaughters, bearing in every case the prefix "Honourable," are, each in turn, for a month on duty; there are further eight women of the bedchamber. Between the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bedchamber difficulties, the single resemblance to be found is the element of combat animating both; but Queen Anne's duel was directly with her former bosom friend and confidante, Her Grace of Marlborough. Queen Victoria crossed swords, with her Minister over that feminine

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personnel, the change in which, demanded by the head of her Government, she resented as an attack on her prerogative. It may be as well briefly to recall the sufficiently familiar circumstances.

In the Victorian episode no lady of ducal rank finds a place. Sir Robert Peel was called to form an administration in 1839. While performing that task he acquainted the House of Commons with the insuperable difficulties which must beset him and his colleagues if the sovereign's intimates of her own sex were the near relatives of his personal opponents. Especially, he said, would his position be made impracticable by the presence in the royal suite of such zealous Whigs as Lord Morpeth's sister and Lady Normanby. These were the only two whom he particularised. The Queen, however, either mistook him and believed that he aimed at the dismissal of all her companions belonging to the Whig connection, or else thought that any concession on the matter of principle involved would take from her for all time her proper freedom in the choice of her entourage. Therefore, as she told "Uncle Leopold," she had determined to resist at the beginning the encroachment on her rights.

During, or very shortly after this little agitation, the Duchess of Somerset was one of the two or three Court powers who helped the Queen not only in defining more precisely than had yet been done the exact duties falling on the Mistress of the Robes, but also in settling some other administrative details that came within the Lord Chamberlain's province. These concerned the Vice-Chamberlain, whose appointment had been necessitated by the increased work of the department. The new official's special function was to ensure the exact observance according to recognised precedents in the reception and presentation of foreign ambassadors, of other great personages from beyond the seas, and especially to regulate procedure in every kind of Court entertainment.

There yet remains a palace dignitary, the least

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known to the public but historically the most illustrious. The Lord Great Chamberlain began in Norman times by being the financial officer of the household in the person of Robert Malet, the Conqueror's chief companion and confidant. To-day he is seldom heard of outside the palace save in connection with ceremonies as rare as they are grand. During a later reign the post had become hereditary. Henry I (1133) gave it to Aubrey de Vere and his heirs; by these, as Earls of Oxford, it was held till the extinction of the line. After this it was held under grants for life until Queens Mary and Elizabeth were misled into making it a family appanage by a pseudo descendant of the de Veres. In 1779 the de Veres were represented by two sisters; eventually George III decided that any heirs of these ladies should hold the office by joint tenure in alternate reigns. After Queen Victoria's death it went to the Earl of Ancaster, to-day associated in the office with the Marquess of Lincolnshire.

The Prince Consort complained of the rooms at Windsor being uncomfortably cold. That, he found out, was a mischievous heritage from the eighteenth century, when the Lord Steward, the second Duke of Devonshire, quarrelled with the Lord Chamberlain, Shrewsbury first, Jersey afterwards, about his responsibilities in the matter. "My business," said the duke, "begins and ends in seeing the fire laid; the lighting is altogether your affair." The inconvenient tradition lingered till Victorian times, when its removal was secured by the palace reforms in which the Queen's husband and her Prime Minister, Peel, collaborated. The palace had been immemorially a judicial as well as a social institution. Assisted by the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward presided over a tribunal, known as the "Board of Green Cloth," for summarily trying every kind of offence committed within the royal precincts. This body possessed in early days, even if it seldom exercised it, the power of life and

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death; at all times it aimed at putting down expenditure by ignoring any tradesmen's bills for articles supplied unless the trader could show a voucher authorising the purchase. This business frequently passed into the control of the Treasurer, with the Cofferer as his second in command, the Cofferer being abolished by Burke's Bill of 1782. The Lord High Almoner dates from the Restoration of 1660, when one and the same official combined the washing of the poor men's feet on Good Friday Eve with the presentation of gold, frankincense and myrrh in the Chapel Royal. Till George III no provision had been made for the private secretary, since then the most vital part in the entire palace system, and it would seem first heard of by that name when George IV, as Regent, chose Colonel Macmahon for the position, and if Castlereagh had not come to the rescue, would have got into trouble with Parliament about his precise status and his official emoluments, £2000 a year, a house, candles and coals. The importance of this post depends in a special degree on the character of its occupant. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it has accidentally united two epochs of Court history. The first Sir Francis Knollys (1514-96) was, after 1572, Queen Elizabeth's right-hand man. Rather more than three hundred years afterwards his descendant, of the same name and style, was secretary to the Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household. Thence he was told off on service to the heir-apparent as private secretary. He retained the position after the Prince had become Edward VII, that he might induct in its duties his successor, the present Lord Stamfordham, who began as a Royal Artillery lieutenant, in the same battery as that joined by the Prince Imperial of France. The feeling and tact with which he broke the news of the death of the Prince Imperial to the Empress Eugénie were appreciated by none more than by Queen Victoria, who (1880) made him her assistant private secretary,

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and in 1895, on Sir Henry Ponsonby's death, her secretary in chief. The best and wisest traditions of courtiership date from the sixteenth-century Sir Francis Knollys, who also, if he did not actually found, organised the Mastership of the Horse. The appointments, therefore, of the palace in the present Georgian era were presaged by the Elizabethan régime, in the same way that the royal establishment remains to-day the school for social sagacity, urbane gravity and shrewdness of insight into human nature which it became then. Court duties, discharged as they have been by men like Lord Knollys and Lord Stamfordham, have, in various ways, been and are national services as well. The Foreign Office couriers are still known as King's Messengers. There has always been, from King Alfred's day, an official concerned with the sovereign's foreign journeys. The royal yachts come under the Privy Purse; the home journeys are managed by the Master of the Horse and the equeries; the first of these also is now charged with the motors and the general plan of the railway arrangements. A recent king of Italy laughed off an attack on his life as "one of the risks of our profession." The English monarchy is the best-ordered royal business in the world, because its surroundings have been devised and are superintended by the best brains eligible for the work. Lord Stamfordham was on the way to the highest distinction in the scientific corps when his gifts marked him out as the exact want of the Court that has already become a national example of business management.

The developments of costume at the English Court have been less steadily progressive and regular than the administrative progress just passed in review. The close of the Middle Ages introduced to the English as well as to other Courts several changes and some improvements in personal attire, chiefly from the old Alcazar palace of the Cid; the most notable among these adopted at St. James's replaced the two-handled sword by the rapier. This weapon gradually grew

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to a dangerous or inconvenient length; the chiefs of the Elizabethan household decided on a three-foot limit. For the rest, the Tudor gentlemen and ladies dressed as they pleased, generally glorying in colours and decorations too conspicuous not to attract notice in the royal circle. Any article disapproved by the sovereign generally brought its wearer a warning from an Usher of the Hall, and perhaps subsequently a reminder of the disciplinary powers vested in the Board of the Green Cloth. The most glaring and ill-judged variety of palace dresses continued under all the Stuarts, and only began to disappear under the House of Hanover. At the last revival of Bulwer Lytton's comedy *Money* the critics found fault with the many different-coloured coats worn in the evening drawing-room. It was, however, true to the facts of social history. The sable swallow-tail only became universal in the Victorian age, and that largely as the result of a fashion set by Bulwer Lytton himself.

About costume at the Victorian Court something will presently be said. Before modern courtiership clothed itself in suitable apparel, palace housekeeping had to undergo a thorough reform from top to bottom. The abuses and scandals which had grown up beneath the royal roof proved incredibly great, but had gone on unnoticed during successive reigns till the Prince Consort saw the evils with his own eyes. Above all things a practical man, justly conscious of his great administrative power, he was moved to take the matter in hand by a personal experience that had befallen him one March morning of 1840 during a stroll through the rooms of Windsor Castle. He looked at the object more than once or twice before he could satisfy himself that his vision had not deceived him. It proved, however, beyond doubt to be a youth stretched at full length on a rug under a sofa. From the castle staff no information could be obtained. At last the intruder made a clean breast of it. For a long time past he had been in the habit of taking

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up his nightly quarters beneath the royal roof; he knew every inch of the building; at a very early date he had begun his visits to kitchen, larder and pantry, with the certainty of finding an excellent supper before retiring to rest. Gradually other instances of the same kind came to light, and the most historic of the sovereign's country homes proved to be the free lodgings of the industrial neighbourhood. The Prince at once consulted the head of the Government, Sir Robert Peel. All the palaces were closely examined from roof to basement, and the deliberations ended in the appointment of a Master of the Household, the Lord Steward and Chamberlain still presiding over their own state offices. Those interested in perpetuating the abuses visited their resentment less on the Prince than the Premier. Peel's life was repeatedly threatened, his secretary, Drummond, being shot (1843) by McNaughten in mistake for Peel himself. To the Queen's unconcealed indignation the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty" on the ground of insanity.

The Queen's dissatisfaction at the result was shared by all classes among her people. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that during the last century's first half the idea of a German marriage in general, or of a Coburg one in particular, was unpopular. The opposition to Prince Albert proceeded from the most aristocratic centre of a society so narrow and exclusive as to resemble a close borough. The country at large, warned by seventeenth-century experience—the union of two Stuart kings with wives altogether or half French—had convinced all British Protestants that our future Queen's consort must be furnished by German, because Protestant, royalty. That followed naturally from the law fixing the Protestant succession in 1534, and the Marriage Act of 1772, forbidding royal marriages outside the limits of royal circles. The House of Hanover could trace an unbroken line of descent through the first James to Henry the Seventh, to Edward the Fourth and so

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to King Alfred.¹ For a special reason Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert of Coburg seemed of happy omen. The best known and best loved daughter of the reigning dynasty, the Princess Charlotte, had broken off her engagement to Prince William of Orange that she might marry Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards king of the Belgians. Her bright, amiable disposition and the blameless beauty of her short life united the land of her birth with that of her adoption in a personal grief at the unexpected news of her death, after having given birth to a boy, who did not survive his mother, in little more than a year after her marriage. That was just two years before the Duke of Kent's union with the Duke of Saxe-Coburg's daughter, the Prince of Leinengen's widow, had resulted in the future Queen Victoria's birth. That princess from the first reproduced the most characteristic qualities of both parents; from her mother she inherited a love of command and a taste for brilliant social effects, tempered by a punctilious devotion to domestic economy and a liberal supply of those gentler attributes forming the sum of German sentiment. On the other hand, her father, a military martinet of the hardest school, had bequeathed her the same delight in military pageants as had come to Christina of Sweden from Gustavus Adolphus. The Princess Victoria's delight in martial literature was deepened by her affection for the relative who had prescribed that reading—like her father, a soldier, who had served in the Russian army as general at Lützen and Leipzig. These war-like associations of childhood left a lasting mark on the future queen, showing themselves throughout her life in a keen sensitiveness to parliamentary interference with her army, notwithstanding her entirely constitutional acceptance of the Cardwell and Wolseley

¹ For these and other details which follow, see Professor R. S. Rait's most valuable and interesting article in the July 1919 *Quarterly Review*, based on Queen Victoria's unpublished correspondence and diaries.

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reforms. The Princess Victoria's acquaintance with European history bore the impress of her uncle's mind as visibly as if it had been a narrative of dynasties and campaigns composed by himself. He too had always greatly admired Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and the heroic Christina; he seems also to have heard with amused approval a sort of resemblance discovered by his niece between that royal heroine and herself. He strengthened and supplemented the youthful association of ideas by providing her with another counsellor, Baron Stockmar, who, after Lord Melbourne had gone, should fulfil for the young queen those duties of guide, philosopher and friend which Oxenstiern had discharged for the Scandinavian amazon. Queen Victoria's paternal grandfather had imbibed some of his ideas about prerogative from Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*. His descendant was under the same obligation to Clarendon's *Great Rebellion* for her admiring sympathy with the Stuarts. The Duke of Kent's death (January 1820) drew still closer his widow's and daughter's connection with their royal relative, whose later experiences stimulated the interest taken by the future ruler of this realm in all regal matters. In 1830 Leopold of Belgium had been offered the crown of Greece, his refusal being followed the next year by election to the Belgian throne.

Meanwhile the Duchess of Kent was exercising an influence on her daughter as real, as lasting, and in many respects as beneficent as that which, proceeding from Brussels, formed a fresh strand in the union of the two countries. The simple, regular life of the two ladies, chiefly in one of their provincial homes, kept them both in high health and explains the extraordinary vigour and vitality of our royal house in future generations. The Duchess of Kent combined with the emotional part of her nature shrewd, practical wisdom, and an abhorrence of waste and domestic disorder, which soon communicated themselves to all about her. Socially as well as morally, and to a great extent

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intellectually, the young lady of eighteen who came to the throne in 1837 was the product of home training. The Duchess's jointure would not of itself have provided the accomplishments, notably the skill and grace in the saddle, gradually acquired as a girl by her daughter. Lineally connected by an unbroken descent with Alfred the Great, with a mind pre-occupied from the first by royal thoughts, Queen Victoria had identified herself in her early surroundings with the daily routine, the simple pleasures and the little economies of her future subjects, as these, in the bad seasons, often following each other during that period, were known in many a country parsonage or squire's of the smaller sort. At the eight-o'clock breakfast the Princess had her bread and milk in a silver bowl, but tea only as a special treat or when someone might be staying with them. Then came lessons with the governess till half-past one. After lunch came more lessons till the hour of walking or of horse exercise with the riding-master, before dinner at seven. The Princess, it might almost seem, was determined or had been destined to make the ordinary school-girl's experiences her own, not excepting the ordeal of those periodical examinations to whose necessity parents and teachers were then becoming alive.

After the continuance for some years of the course just described, the Bishops of London and Lincoln were called in to test the progress she had made and the intelligence she had developed. Nothing could have been more satisfactory than their report. The Princess had not only read widely and well, but had made her reading part of her own life. She could therefore do no better than continue as she had begun. This verdict duly found its place in those letters to "Uncle Leopold" which reflect with such simple exactness each stage in the progressive evolution of his favourite niece's character, intelligence, acquirements and interests. Now, she wrote, she had been reading *The Leviathan* of Hobbes, an infidel philosopher,

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though with plenty of sound, penetrating good sense. Otherwise she felt sure her Stuart ancestor, the second Charles, would not have thought so well of him.

Social gifts and graces were not neglected; to dance well, as she had discovered from her reading, was a royal accomplishment; she therefore set herself to learn that skill in the art which afterwards in early womanhood made her by far the best performer in the minuet at the palace "Powder Ball" in the summer of 1845. The Duchess of Kent's frequently unrestrained emotionalism, to some extent inherited by her daughter, had been disciplined into self-restraint before the Princess knew of the great future awaiting her. "Other girls," she writes to "Uncle Leopold," "would be puffed up with pride at the prospect; I think of the responsibility." An intelligent taste for the theatre, the opera and all musical entertainments ran through three successive members of the Hanoverian dynasty—William IV, the niece who followed him, Queen Victoria, and King Edward VII. The two last of these transmitted to our present sovereign that faculty of discriminating appreciation which made so good a judge as J. W. Davison, of *The Times*, place Queen Victoria and her eldest son among the best operatic critics of his time. Before, as well as during, the Prince Consort's time the table-talk of the palace was largely on musical matters, and might have been taken for an improved and refined echo of the conversation encouraged in his social life by the sailor king who followed George the Fourth.

The character of this Victorian talk (1835-7) may be judged from the Queen's impression of the Covent Garden artists—Lablache's magnificent deep bass, Tamburini's and Rubini's delicious quartette, "A Te O Cara" in *I Puritani*, and so forth. A record of these years shows the twentieth-century vitality, the bigger mind and body seen in our reigning house to-day, to have been Queen Victoria's personal legacy. Hers first were the vigour, the versatility—mental,

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not less than physical. Hence the reproduction by her posterity of the ease with which the great Queen varied a gallop in Windsor Park on horseback by study.

Returning home from her ride she is soon deep in a book on the rivalry of France and Spain. After this she takes up the genealogical table of British sovereigns to inscribe it here and there with a few pencil notes of their personal characteristics. "My first duty," she writes to Uncle Leopold, "is surely to know everything about my country." "The personal and family antecedents of English rulers," she says elsewhere, "together with the results of their reigns, are what it concerns me, of all things, to know." Of Saxon monarchs Egbert interested her most: "Not only," she would say, "because he was the first king to unite all England under his rule, but because he brought to this country, from the Court of Charlemagne, the rudiments of modern civilisation as well as definite ideas about the management of a sovereign's home." "The unity of our national life and history," during the period now recalled, was an expression often on the royal lips, and by this she meant, and had resolved on bequeathing to her successors, a system, moral, social and industrial, under a ruler providentially entrusted with supreme command. That at least is a conception of kingship binding together in one organic whole the Victorian, the Edwardian and the Neo-Georgian periods. From this view of royal responsibilities and duties the minutest details of palace life and administration acquired something like a religious importance. Hence in 1839 the Queen's sense of responsibility to those who might come after her had quite as much to do with the insistence on what she esteemed her personal prerogative as the contrast she could not help feeling, of Sir Robert Peel's awkward and alarming stiffness with Melbourne's polished and supple opportunism. On this subject there is on record her own mature judgment. "If,"

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she wrote, "I had been a little older I should of course have given in at first." The Queen liked the Stuarts too much to have any favourite among the greatest of the Tudors. Yet, after any little passing difference with the Lower House on international or military matters, Queen Victoria, in the same temper and in nearly the same words as Queen Elizabeth, protested that she would make any sacrifice rather than lose the goodwill of her beloved Parliament. In 1564 Queen Elizabeth would have dealt summarily with Paul Wentworth, M.P., for some writing, in sequence to a speech about her expected or desired marriage. Nothing more happened than innumerable reprints of the peccant pamphlet (1534). In 1874 the *Greville Memoirs* excited a disapproval at the Palace likely, as some thought, to injure the publication. Within a few months, however, a reprint of some thousand copies was required.

The sound body in the sound mind, not less than a minute sense of what was due to the royal prerogative, linked the nineteenth-century sovereign with the greatest of her Tudor forerunners. In eighteen years Queen Victoria was nine times a mother; six of these children had been born when her life at Balmoral began in 1848. Time and trials, however, had not impaired the freshness of her temper or the zest of her enjoyment. The mature woman, like Elizabeth at her age, found the same delight in Highland expeditions, mountain-climbing or the descent into deep dells, as had never failed Elizabeth during her matronly years in her long days of hawking or provincial progress throughout her realm. The torchlight reels and bagpipes at Balmoral prolonged the fun to an hour that would have exhausted Samuel Johnson's "Great Eliza." With these heroics gentler interests, unknown to Elizabeth, interweaved themselves—the picture of Sir Robert Gordon's faithful dog "Monk," and of that "dear, sweet, poor old soul, Mary Symons." No other royal pen ever recorded with Queen Victoria's

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freshness the foreign rulers whom she met. Take this contrast between Louis Philippe and Napoleon the Third: "The Orleanist king is a typical Frenchman, volatile, irrepressible, ready with a brisk opinion about everybody and everything. The Emperor, on the other hand, in his reserve and taciturnity, is more German or English than French; he has learned, he says, his habitual reticence from long intercourse with the grave, silent men of the English Turf."

The Prussian ambassador's wife, the Countess Bernstorff, describes the early Victorian Court as "a sort of German reflection." German was its habitual language; German too in origin were the Christmas trees, which, first introduced by the Prince Consort, soon became popular with all English classes. The Queen, however, never forgot the contact into which she had been brought by marriage with the French royal house. In 1835 she first met "Uncle Leopold's" French wife and was charmed by her appearance, disposition and manner. Belgium, therefore, she might consider, as she actually did, no longer the cause of Anglo-French discord, but the mutual tie holding both together. How real this international amity became may be judged from the fact that in the Mehemet Ali episode (1839-41), Louise Philippe, rather than risk a quarrel with Great Britain, dismissed his chief Minister, Thiers, and Queen Victoria returned the compliment by showing her indifference to Palmers-ton. Her attitude to the new Empire showed all the friendliness that had marked her dealings with the old monarchy. In 1849 she admired the courage and energy of Napoleon when President. In 1852 (December 3) came the proclamation of the Second Empire, with an expression of the Queen's sincere friendship to the French Emperor, now increased to esteem and attachment.

When the first quarter of her reign had closed, Queen Victoria, on visiting Paris with the Prince

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Consort, 1854, could congratulate herself on the union not only of two sovereigns but of two nations. By promoting this she linked her own reign with that of her son. Before her death, 1901, she witnessed the beginning of that twentieth-century understanding between the two Western powers of Europe which her successor had, as Prince of Wales, already done so much to promote and in which he received such friendly and effective co-operation from the French ambassador, Paul Cambon. The international tragedy which might have followed the Fashoda incident of 1898 was averted; the era of international goodwill began. In 1898 Queen Victoria's life work was done. The Victorian Anglo-French Entente Cordiale took concrete shape as the Edwardian Anglo-French Agreement on April 8, 1904.

By that time King Edward VII had entered on the fourth year of his reign, and was personifying the socio-political agencies of popular and national fusion characteristic of his time and of himself. The movements made by him, when Prince of Wales, in that direction are summed up so completely in an oft-told anecdote that one may be pardoned for its repetition now. The heir-apparent had long been in the habit of seeing the Oxford and Cambridge boat-race as the guest of Poole, the Savile-Row tailor, at his Thames-side villa; eventually he requited these hospitalities by an invitation to Sandringham. Lord Suffield, entering the famous shop, hoped that the visitor had found a pleasant party. "Yes," was the reply, "but rather a mixed lot." "Hang it," came the rejoinder, "but you couldn't expect them all to be tailors!"

Queen Victoria's eldest son first saw the light when the amalgamation implied in the words just recalled had begun to be visible. The Prince Consort would have recognised the new forces, commercial, economical, industrial and professional, now ready to compete with the representatives of the titular or official aristocracy exclusively grouped round the throne.

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Three years before his death Prince Albert welcomed the admission of Jews to Parliament, hoped to see some of them peers, and, in words echoed twelve years afterwards by his eldest son, thought the Upper House wanting in men of different classes and ideas. Meanwhile he would, in fact, have made the Court the centre of all that was best in the national life and achievement.

The sanguine and sagacious vision of the Queen's husband was transformed into social and political reality under his son. King Edward's inheritance of the idea merely as a pious opinion would not have sufficed for the promotion, certainly not the completion, of the vast and salutary changes in the body politic, linking by its conception and fulfilment the England of Queen Victoria with that of George V. The fusion of the old acres and the new wealth and the blending of cosmopolitan plutocracy required in the royal head of our polite system a tact almost amounting to genius. That supreme gift came to King Edward from his father, but it implied too a share of that capacity for kindly interest in human joys and sorrows so conspicuous, as we have already seen, in Queen Victoria herself. These qualities had been known from his youth to all those brought into contact with the King. They were first placed on European record when, October 30, 1881, the heir-apparent met the then chief Minister of France, Gambetta, at a breakfast whose scene was the Moulin Rouge, then standing in the Avenue d'Antin. The Prince Consort, before becoming really known in his adopted home, first convinced many Englishmen that he was something more than a sort of German professor by his interest in the dock labourers of London, and his practical suggestions for lightening the work done, especially by the stevedores. A paper, drawn up by him shortly before his death (1861), formed the inspiration and commencement of King Edward's success in utilising and popularising pluto-

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crazy as the instrument of philanthropy: "Let the people see in the Crown a national agency uniting it with the chief interests and movements of their time. In that way those who come after your mother will find the roots of their authority deepened and its opportunities for all good increased. I hope that my son, when his turn comes, will never forget this truth." Rather more than twenty years after his father's death the Prince of Wales followed the paternal advice by his work on the Industrial Dwellings Commission (1884). Afterwards came the Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund and Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Hospital Fund. After his accession he initiated a system, entirely his own, for relieving the unemployed in the East End. In these enterprises he welcomed the collaboration forthcoming from very different quarters. He had only just come to the throne when he received at Buckingham Palace the leader of the Salvation Army, General Booth, and of the Church Army, Canon Carlile. In what way, the King wanted to know, would the best return be ensured for money spent on the indigent and often helpless masses. From time immemorial the wealth of New Court, the Rothschilds, had been as sure a source of relief for distress in all its forms as the organisation and the charity of the Mansion House itself.

The twentieth century was now to link the palace almoners of an earlier day with an essentially typical product of the Edwardian epoch. This was a German Jew who, first as a representative of the grain trade, had come to this country in 1868. His ambitions, social and political, grew with the growth and were strengthened with the strength of his extraordinary genius for every kind of business. His operations in the Argentine were only the first stage of his progress to an opulence surpassing the dreams of avarice. China and Egypt were the next fields on which the richest treasures of the Old World emptied themselves into his purse. After little more than a generation he

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reappeared in London, to be known as the " Prince of Plutocrats " by the style of Sir Ernest Cassel. The palace doors soon opened themselves to him, on the condition, however, of his sacrificing a few odd millions on the altar of charity. His liberation of the fellaheen on the Nile from the clutches of the usurer and his gifts to its agricultural toilers had secured him knighthood. Sir Ernest Cassel now established the royal sanatorium at Midhurst, advised his sovereign on improvements to Crown property, and took his place with Sir Jacob Sassoon and others among the business counsellors of the King. The royal favour shown to the magnates of trade and commerce, as well as the titles they now began to receive, only exemplified the twentieth-century sovereign's fidelity to the ancient precedent embodied in so many of our " old nobility." Thus the great Duke of Buckingham's earliest known progenitor was the Lord Mayor Gresham, the grocer. The cloth trade provided an ancestor for the Marquis of Bath, for the Marquis of Salisbury (Lord Mayor Cooke), as well as for the Earl of Fitzwilliam. The Warwick coronet was to be worn first by a vintner's descendant named Dashwood. Queen Elizabeth's grandfather stood for many years behind different sorts of counters before his elevation to the Bullen baronetcy first, the Wiltshire peerage afterwards. Queen Victoria's third Prime Minister, Viscount Palmerston, bore a title originally bestowed on his forbear, Sir John Houblon, a grocer of repute, in 1695. King Edward therefore only harmonised nineteenth- or twentieth-century practice with almost mediæval tradition by duly recognising the new industrial and commercial peerage, whose Brasseys, Iveaghs and Hindlips rested on a trade foundation in the same degree as the Salisburys and the Warwicks. Nor could the policy so strongly, as we have seen, recommended by the Prince Consort have been followed more loyally and in better taste than was done by his son.

In the June of 1907 Windsor Castle was the scene

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of a garden party which formed, as it were, a march-past of the most representative and picturesque among the personal forces, industrial, economic, social and political, amalgamating the old and new orders. On that occasion the King, as he received, or moved about among, his guests showed in his figure, face and bearing a resemblance to his father. The family likeness, and the company whom it profoundly impressed, symbolised the happily ordered blending of the Victorian with the Edwardian age. There indeed were the men of noble and knightly name, many deriving their lineage in an unbroken line from ancestors whose coronets dated back to Agincourt; there were others, like the Roseberys and Lansdownes, and the magnates of war and peace, Church and State, as at the Windsor fêtes under the great Queen. Interspersed with them came the American heiresses whose acceptance of British coronets had infused wealth, smartness, sometimes art and wit into the peerage of their adopted country. Attention, however, chiefly centred itself, not on any of this titled, golden butterfly group, nor on the acknowledged queen of the stage, Ellen Terry, with her Kate Greenaway-clad grandchild, or the newly knighted popular favourites behind the footlights: the Rothschild brothers and cousins swept by in their gracious magnificence, comparatively unnoticed. The King of Siam's bejewelled robes were eclipsed in interest by the wideawakes and velveteens, proclaiming the then representatives of Trade Unionism and Labour in high places, Privy Councillors John Burns and Will Crooks. A less famous member of this industrial group, Mr. Broadhurst, had already been won from republicanism to royalty by the gracious kindness of the then heir-apparent's welcome on a week-end visit to Sandringham. The genuineness of King Edward's solicitude for guests new to the palace precincts testified to the same spirit of kindly consideration shown, as we have seen, by his mother to her humbler neighbours at Balmoral or Osborne.

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During the 'seventies the Prince of Wales, with thoughtful and kindly adroitness, transfigured the pastime of slumming, then fashionable, into a real philanthropic force, and his Marlborough House garden parties did much in the way of adapting to nineteenth-century conditions the nursing vocation which his mother had helped to organise in 1855. During the March of that year the Queen was in constant communication with her War Minister, Lord Panmure, about the wounded soldiers returned from the Crimea; later in the year she visited their hospitals, and in her own words "Shook their brave, rough hands." That, however, was not all. With her two eldest sons she investigated the conditions under which her sick troops were making their convalescence. The attendance and sick-bed appliances were found satisfactory; the buildings, however, at Chatham and elsewhere were more like prisons than hospitals. The windows were so high that no one could look out of them; the wards generally were so small that it was difficult to walk between the beds; while elsewhere meals were being taken in full view of the beds of the sick and dying. Something, the Queen decided, must be done at once, and she personally watched each stage of the progress made. Fresh sites in swift succession were thoroughly surveyed, and five days before her birthday (May 19, 1856) the Queen laid the foundation stone of the Victoria Military Hospital at Netley, near the spot where the Cistercian monks of the thirteenth century had doled out physic and wine to warriors returned from the foreign wars, or bread and meat to their necessitous wives and children. The beneficent ecclesiastical tradition founded on the Hampshire coast, revived by the head of the English State five hundred years afterwards, has been illustrated anew by her grandson after a fashion the development of which must find its place in a new chapter.

CHAPTER II

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON

King Edward as the "Uncle of Europe" and general peace-maker—His great power of quickly grasping new subjects, shown at the 1885 Marlborough House Athens School meeting—The King's marriage precedent—Directs education and training of his son, George V, transmitting to him his own qualities—King George's accession—The King and sport—Royal home life—King Edward and men's fashions—King George and his subjects—International hospitality—The King and trade disputes—The Prince of Wales a leveller of class distinctions.

"A KING of England who is willing to be the man of his people is the greatest king in the world; if he wishes to be more, he is nothing at all." The words were spoken to Charles II by Sir William Temple, and were met by the sovereign with, "You are right, and I will be the man of my people." From some points of view the resolution was fulfilled, and the third Stuart ruler became the most tactful and popular of his line. More than two centuries had to pass before the advent, in 1901, of a sovereign who fulfilled with practical completeness Temple's ideal. The earliest nineteenth-century princess succeeding to the throne transmitted to her son most of the qualities that had made the monarchy powerful and popular. King Edward's additions to these have adapted themselves to the change of times in the sovereign who has followed him.

Queen Victoria was called "The Grandmother of Europe"; King Edward VII took his place in due course as its "Uncle." The emperors of Russia,

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Germany, and the kings of Belgium, Greece, Norway, Roumania and Spain welcomed him on his accession in the relationship of their "mother's" son. All these family obligations the new king recognised, after taking Paris on his way, by his journey to Rome (1903), by his meeting with King Alphonso on the Riviera (1903), by his Greek trip for witnessing the Olympic Games at Athens (1904), and in February 1909, when, with Queen Alexandra, he returned at Berlin the Kaiser's visit to London two years previously. Before being the guest of any crowned heads King Edward had accepted (1906) President Loubet's hospitality at Paris, as well as that of President Fallières, who had visited him in 1908. During these years the Austrian, the German and the Portuguese monarchs were received at Buckingham Palace; while on a summer holiday at Marienbad the King found frequent companions in the French and Russian statesmen, M. Clemenceau and M. Isvolsky.¹ All this time the London Foreign Office carried on its daily work in regular communication with the royal traveller, who was as much at home in the German capital or baths and on the boulevards of Paris as at Balmoral, Sandringham or Hyde Park. On these informal and roving embassies Edward VII laboured, and seldom failed, to promote or restore international friendship and goodwill. He cleared up innumerable misunderstandings, by his conciliatory tact he removed friction, facilitated mutual concessions, smoothed difficulties, brought pourparlers to a successful issue, softened into pliability the rigid militarism of Prussia, and calmed the discontent of Italy. In the French Chamber, as in society, he appreciated Gambetta's genial eloquence and Clemenceau's Attic wit. Everywhere he did something to eradicate open or latent possibilities of quarrel, or to discover and impress a real community of interest that should serve for a

¹ Formerly the Russian Foreign Minister, afterwards, till the revolution, Russian ambassador at Paris.

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guarantee of amicable co-operation. The national and international value of his work united in his praise the most variously representative as well as the most widely different experts of the time. When he had passed away Lord Lansdowne dwelt upon the world-wide benefits resulting from the dead king's profound intimacy with all Europe, and his unfailing efforts on the side of peace. Lord Rosebery reviewed the widely different character of the causes, the undertakings and the individuals at home and abroad with whom this "man of his people" and of their neighbours beyond the seas had associated himself. Mr. A. J. Balfour could conceive of nothing better becoming the imperial throne than the part played by the English sovereign who had made himself not only the symbol of national unity, but a most winning personality. The republican and socialistic *Clarion* paid its tribute to the love of his subjects, secured by King Edward's genuine simplicity of nature, by his sympathy with popular aspirations and interests, not less than by his impressive patriotism. Prince, peer, artisan or peasant, it continued, "there was not one who doubted that among King Edward's best and most enduring works would be found the training of his successor in his own ways of modern kingship to strengthen the British throne by labours which would be for the abiding good of his people."

Nearly a decade's experience has gone far towards verifying that forecast.

The entirely novel era of the monarchy to be opened in the twentieth century by Edward VII had been presaged by his birth in a palace which his mother was the first sovereign to inhabit (for though George IV and William IV both survived the completion of the royal structure on the site of Buckingham House, they both disliked the building too much ever to inhabit it). The historic associations of Windsor proved, however, of themselves a liberal education to all Queen Victoria's children, especially

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her eldest son. On the other hand, the most impressionable years of King George's early life were passed amid or near to scenes as much calculated to stimulate and strengthen the patriotic imagination of a future ruler as Windsor itself; at the age of eleven and a half (1877), with his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence, he went for a midshipman's training to the *Britannia*, anchored off the right bank of the river Dart's picturesque estuary. Here he found himself surrounded by the most glorious memories of the national story. Full in his sight was the embarkation point of Cœur de Lion with his Crusaders (1190). Close to this their cables were slipped by the ships which Edward III sent to besiege Calais (1347). The Elizabethan defeat of the "invincible" Armada and the brief pause of the *Mayflower* before it finally faced the Atlantic were also full in the sight of the *Britannia* cadet destined for an imperial throne. George V is not our first sailor king. William IV was a sailor, though he never won the confidence of the Admiralty so far as to obtain a command during his nautical career (1779-90). When the Duke of York, as heir to the throne, retired from the calling he loved he had made himself a scientific seaman of the most earnest and enthusiastic kind, though, like Nelson indeed, he never quite overcame the malady of *mal de mer*. By the time he paced the quarter-deck the introduction of steam had made the ship a floating factory; he mastered every detail connected with engine-room, furnace, boilers, as thoroughly as he had learned the art and science of navigation. William IV became a landsman to prove himself one among the most commonplace and perverse of nineteenth-century monarchs. How the composed, well-instructed young admiral appeared to his subjects on his accession was shown by the pencil of "Mr. Punch." In this memorable cartoon, with one hand he grasps the sword of state, the other is laid on the steering machinery. In the background are

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blue books, "Hansards," and representatively filled bookshelves.

Differing from his father in his methods of work, King Edward's son has inherited to the full a very remarkable paternal gift—that of accurately and quickly mastering a subject entirely new. That faculty was never displayed more characteristically by the then Prince of Wales than during the year 1883 in a matter with which the present writer had something to do. While editing the *Fortnightly Review* I published an article by the accomplished Hellenic scholar, Professor R. C. Jebb, to promote the establishment of a school of Greek studies at Athens. The Princess Alexandra's brother then occupied the Greek throne. Hence we naturally wished to interest that sovereign in our project, nor could there have been a better way of doing so than through the good offices of his English relatives. The idea pleased the heir-apparent, who gave me the opportunity of personally explaining the details of our plan. Among other things we designed introducing it to the public at a meeting of the distinguished men concerned for the success of the plan. "You can have your meeting here," said the Prince, when I waited on him at Marlborough House the first time; "leave some of these papers with me that I may thoroughly understand and have by me the facts and figures relating to the whole subject, and come again, bringing Professor Jebb with you, the day after to-morrow." On obeying the summons we found that the Prince had not only read the article most carefully, but had acquainted himself with various letters about the matter from foreign authorities and English experts of every kind. His speech on the occasion surprised, by its easy and exact command of the proposal in every particular, Lord Salisbury, Lord Granville, the Headmaster and Provost of Eton, the Provost of Oriel, the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, the Marquis of Dufferin, Lord Houghton, Mr. Gladstone, the Greek Minister in

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London, and other equally eminent judges. Neither by the then Sir Francis Knollys nor by any other of those about him had the Prince received or dispatched anything in the nature of memorandum or letter. All had been done by personal talk, and without the slightest haste, during the few days.

King George, like his royal grandmother and, in a greater degree perhaps, the Prince Consort, finds it his duty, as well as less exhausting to his energies, quietly seated through long and laborious hours at his table, to substitute, as far as possible, the letter for the interview. This is intelligible enough if one remembers the marked difference in the course of preparation for the throne passed through by the father and the son. Schools, in King Edward's case universities, grounded both in the regular subjects of liberal culture; well-directed reading afterwards kept them abreast with the best or the most popular literature of the time. No home precautions or restraints kept the first-born son of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort from graduating, while yet a youth, in the great school of the world, and thus seeing men, women, courts, capitals and society of all kinds in its most varied and bustling aspects. The practical training in social or political life at home and abroad, the conversance with human varieties of every sort, were secured for King Edward by himself. The opportunities of this first-hand experience should be brought as far as possible, he decided, within reach of the youth who was to be his successor, and who, till the Duke of Clarence's death made him heir-presumptive, was on active duty in home or foreign waters, necessarily, however, passing much of his time in the more or less lonely communion with the great natural forces around him. Contemplation, solitude and study are the children of silence. In his cabin with his books before him the then Duke of York was not less the student than when preparing for his Greenwich examinations or than when he learned French and

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German at Lausanne or Heidelberg. While a naval officer he visited China; in 1901 he made acquaintance with New Zealand and other parts of Greater Britain. Before setting out on these visits his father, from an experience entirely unique, had much to tell him on the acquisition and exercise of those observant faculties so valuable in the training of a future ruler of men. The communications associating the sovereign with the prince were not broken by the voyage; for at every port entered by the heir to the throne there awaited him paternal despatches that brought the relations of the mother country with its remotest dependencies up to the moment of writing.

A sailor by profession, like his one nineteenth-century ancestor from whom, in all other respects, he so happily differed, King George may well have owed something of his nautical tastes not only to his father, one of the most enthusiastic and skilful of latter-day yachtsmen, but to his mother, "the sea-king's daughter from over the sea," welcomed (March 7, 1863) by the greatest of our modern Laureates. The call of duty, royal or personal, had acquainted him with as many national varieties as King Edward himself, and with even more remote lands. Paternally trained to the performance of duties co-extensive with the empire, he soon became a beneficent force that made for unity wherever the English tongue was known, without, however, any disposition or occasion for King Edward's consummately filled part of cosmopolitan diplomatist.

His reign also will be for all time remembered by the fact that it opened with a new kingly nomenclature. Edward VII was the last sovereign of the Brunswick or Hanover line. At the Council held on July 17, 1917, King George became the first monarch of the House of Windsor, the style to be perpetuated by our future rulers. The conception of the royal rôle illustrated at the English Court to-day happily harmonises with the view of kingly obligations

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in at least two other European countries. The Queen of Spain, once known as the English Princess Ena, in her relations with all classes of her people exemplifies the kindness, the simplicity and the charitable instinct transmitted to her by birth and improved by the best home culture. The one continental ruler with whom George V has most in common is the high-minded, self-denying King of Italy, who never hears of any public or private sorrow and calamity without not only expressing his sympathy, but visiting the scene of the disaster and doing whatever may lay in his power to relieve the sufferers, while in these good works he has received the same assistance from his consort that, coming from Queen Mary, our own King George has missed no opportunity of acknowledging as essential to his own patriotic labours and their success. That union (celebrated July 6, 1893) not only gave King Edward's son a wife after his father's heart, but formed a link with one among the most interesting marriages of our mediæval history. Only once before now has it happened that an English ruler should have by his side a queen by both parents as English as himself. The famous precedent thus recalled marked the close of those wars, concerning which it was said that one rose was crimsoned by the blood shed, the other blanched by the blood lost.

In passing there may be noticed the earlier of the two incidents forming the parallel. On the fourteenth of January, 1486, the founder of the Tudor dynasty married Edward IV's eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York, and covered the floral emblems of strife with the orange-flower and myrtle. During the four hundred and thirty-five years that have passed since then, Queen Victoria's grandson has been our only sovereign to find a bride of the same nationality as himself, and thus to introduce a royal line of pure English blood as well as pursuits, temper and taste. The children of this marriage reproduce to-day the

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parental endowments that adorned the Victorian age. Even their grandfather, the Duke of Teck, although of Austrian stock, could trace his descent from two English princesses, Elizabeth, niece of James I, and Sophia, mother of George I.

Queen Mary's mother, the Princess Mary of Cambridge, as George III's granddaughter, was also Queen Victoria's cousin. During a whole generation the Duchess of Teck had been among the most strikingly original figures of the English Court. Her animated presence, her native shrewdness, wit and rare conversational power, brightened and elevated the palace circle. A piety showing itself in good works and thoughtfulness for others endeared her to every class of the English people. The royal daughter is what the mother was.

Concerning the husband of that Duchess, Madame Waddington, wife of the French representative at St. James's, relates a characteristic anecdote. At that time everyone was admiring Prince Alexander of Battenberg's good looks. Said the Duke of Teck to the ambassadress, his partner in a quadrille, "Is this Battenberg prince really as handsome as they all say? It is a great pity that you never saw me when I was of his age, for I assure you I was infinitely better looking—was I not?" appealing, as he spoke, to his contemporary and old companion-in-arms, the Austrian ambassador.¹

All that the English public knew about the Duke of Teck, whether in the business of war or the functions of peace, was to his advantage. What could be of happier omen than that the coming sovereign should bind together the dispensations of the Crown by

¹ The Duke began his English military career as an officer in the 17th Lancers and afterwards in the 1st Life Guards. He then went to the Cape on recruiting business. After this he was attached to the British Ministry at Vienna. In the South African War he distinguished himself by his skill in arranging the cavalry remounts, was mentioned in orders of the day, secured his majority and received the D.S.O.

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finding a partner in a soldier's daughter such as Victoria had been before, and one to whom the maternal care had transmitted the widest sympathy with the spirit and the needs of the time? In its simplicity, frugality, and the teaching and the practice of religion and charity, as well as in its healthy and invigorating influences on mind and body, the Princess May's childhood or youth at the home with which Queen Victoria had provided her parents, the "White Lodge," Richmond Park, had much in common with the girlish experiences of the Princess Victoria herself, when living with her widowed mother, the Duchess of Kent. The future Queen Mary's early days in the fair Surrey pleasaunce abounded in a greater variety of happy and wholesome delights than, at the same age, Queen Victoria had ever known; in her gallops on horseback from the steps of "White Lodge" to Sawyer's Hill she had for companions her three brave brothers, all of them excelling, not only in the saddle, but in every kind of manly pursuit. None of them, however, could have been a better or a bolder rider than the future queen herself. The hearty handshake with which the Princess Mary, Duchess of Teck, greeted her friends will never be forgotten by the few who still live to remember it. Her daughter put the same amiable energy into her manual salute. Feminine sides at cricket (women *v.* men) pass to-day for a twentieth-century novelty, and in these contests the lords of creation generally submit to a handicap by playing left-handed; if these athletic girls of the period had attained the Princess May's prowess with bat and ball, they would scorn to meet their male rivals on unequal terms. The daughter of the "White Lodge" at least was a match for any of her brethren at single wicket. "Something more stirring for me," had been her remark from the nursery, on the suggestion being made of a little turn in the garden at La Grâce or croquet. Popular satisfaction with the marriage of King Edward's successor deepened with larger

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knowledge of the bride's character and early training; it had grown into loyal gratitude when, five years later (May 28, 1898), her husband made the most important of his early public appearances by taking his place close to his father at Mr. Gladstone's funeral at Westminster Abbey.

Thrifty housewives were relieved by knowing that their future queen had been familiar with the adage, "Waste not, want not," as well as with the more sacred saying, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The average citizen saw in the honour personally paid by the king that was to be to the dead statesman a presage of national retrenchment finding a place in the new imperialism, and an assurance that palace sympathy with the poor, the sick or the suffering would bind yet closer the mutual affections of Crown and crowd.

The years between 1683 and 1737 present in Caroline of Anspach the one early Georgian queen whose higher interests, intellectual and especially religious, whose active concern for the struggling masses far beyond the sight of her Court, and whose ennobling, stimulating and strengthening influence on her husband, foreshadowed not a few of the graces and virtues that distinguish to-day our twentieth-century queen. As for the new king, the confidence and pleasure with which his future subjects had watched him by the Liberal leader's grave twelve years earlier had grown wider and deeper as the day of his coronation approached.

Most, if not all, those present at his first council have passed away. From the Privy Councillor whom I knew best among those present on the occasion, General Sir Henry Brackenbury, I preserve a letter describing the manliness, dignity and urbanity of King George's bearing and the pathos of his patriotic words, going straight as they did to every heart. My correspondent continues: "Poor fellow, he might well speak of the heavy responsibilities which had fallen

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upon him and the trying conditions under which he succeeded to the crown. We are indeed, as he could not but feel, 'swopping horses when crossing the stream.' " Soon after this, when addressing his entire people, the king won the popular heart by his tribute, "The precious encouragement received from my dear wife, who daily collaborates in all my efforts for the good of our people." As the twelfth anniversary of his accession approaches, the King's voice in its growing clearness and strength resembles King Edward's full, manly tones; it serves also as an audible reminder that the nervous scruples, born of an excessive devotion to duty, public or private, are disappearing before the influence of a queen who knows better than any others around him can the innate reserves of moral and intellectual strength, disciplined and fortified by conscious trust in a more than human guidance and help.

An angler resembles a poet in being born and not made. With the fishing-rod King George not only shows rare skill in throwing his fly over intervening obstacles to the exact point he wishes, but has the rarer gift of instinctively knowing the exact place and hour at which, on Highland river or Berkshire trout stream, he may be sure of persuading into his basket as many fish and of the precise dimensions he desires. On the turf, with his father's eye for the points of a horse, with Richard Marsh for his trainer and Lord Marcus Beresford as manager, he makes the royal stud his personal concern, and not infrequently with the best results; witness his October New-market victories (1919) with "Ecila," "Lemonade" and "Viceroy."

Side by side with these ambulatory souvenirs are treasures of more sedentary associations—Queen Mary's particular triumphs, together with sketches and engravings, British, European, trans-oceanic, so diverse and expressive that the royal children seem to have been born into a world-wide picture gallery. Musical

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and dramatic tastes unite all the present generation of English royalty with their recent predecessors in the patronage of the opera and the play. King George possesses all the family love for music, but the compositions he loves best are those of Mendelssohn or Gounod; and that, when they are played by Queen Mary. After the first week of May, 1910, baccarat and bridge ceased to be in royal favour, and the kingly example promised to reunite the neo-Georgian with the Victorian and, in the matter of meals, more or less dismembered home life. Father and son will be looked back upon, each of them, as personifying the temper of the time whose product he was. Destiny had allotted their two parts. Edward VII was born and trained to promote social or fashionable amalgamation at home and international order abroad. He personified the national aspirations of world power in the day of imperial reaction by impressing with his personal mark the fashions of all Europe. The frock-coat originated in the Prince Regent's consultations with the great tailor of his time, Stultz. From Bond Street it went to Paris; here it became "the only wear," much to the alarm and disgust of Count Ségur, who saw in it the beginning of a dangerous passion for equality, and who lived to see its dimensions extended so that, being closely buttoned, it might conceal the stars and decorations which its wearers had formerly flaunted, but of which they were now afraid. King Edward recreated the garment; in its present shape he made it, as he made also the Homburg or trilby hat and the creased trouser, as much the vogue for all Europe as Pall Mall. By weeding the menu he hastened the appearance of coffee and the cigar. King George has not disturbed these modes; but he let it be known that the feminine Coronation gifts to the Queen would be the more acceptable if, like his own, they were made in England.

The royal cosmopolitan diplomatist and his naval

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successor resemble each other in that, when not on London duty, their home life can be described as that of the English country gentleman, whose estate, including the whole United Kingdom, receives the same personal interest in all that concerns its inhabitants upon every social level that a conscientious landlord chiefly residing among his people bestows upon their physical and mental welfare. The various intellectual women of an earlier age were seldom distinguished also by philanthropic activities. As the nineteenth century approached its close, Anna Swanwick and others set a new and better example by combining with their high classical or mathematical pursuits a strenuous concern for the condition and improvement of the ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed daughters and sons of manual labour. Queen Mary had learned all this before being called to her present place. To-day her combination of accomplishments and cultivated tastes, with unwearied solicitude for the sorrows and needs of those about her, at once make her a type of the time and distinguish her from most of those ladies who have arrived at the same position as herself. The same happiness in occasional oratory conspicuous in King Edward is faithfully reproduced in King George. Each, whether addressing a home audience or an empire, touched the same chords and awoke the same applauding echoes. Take, for instance, the new sovereign's manifesto to his Asiatic subjects, "The task of governing these will lose most of its difficulties if we infuse into it real and comprehensive sympathy. My first wish is, and ever will be, that those of my countrymen concerned with any Indian department shall not only strengthen the chain already binding us together, but shall add to it new links forged by their constant, careful and considerate observation of native needs." "Like father, like son"—the retentive Oriental memory recalled at the Delhi Durbar in 1912 a like utterance of King Edward, when Prince of Wales, thirty-seven years before, while

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there were others who mechanically recalled the strikingly appropriate Shakespearean words, "Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, but Harry, Harry" (2 *Henry IV.* V. ii.); or, as the native vernacular had it, "English kings die, but their temper is immortal."

At home in all matters affecting the condition of the industrial masses, not less than in the details of ceremonial procedure, the father's example has guided the son's conduct. On these subjects King George has enjoyed the inspiration of the best thoughts uttered on the platform or committed to paper by teachers who have risen up since King Edward's day. Hence the serious and seasonable description of the home life of the people as the foundation of its national glory.

The international hospitality, an art so fully inherited by King George from his predecessor, furnishes another link between the two reigns. Among King Edward's chief visitors were the ex-Kaiser, two French Presidents, the kings of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and the Emperor of Russia. During 1919 King George acted as host to the King of Spain and (November 8) the second of the two non-royal heads of a great nation who visited this country within the year, the President of the French Republic, nearly twelve months after President Wilson from the United States landed on these shores. A special interest attaches to the new bond of Anglo-French amity, formed by President Poincaré's appearance in London. For the best part of two decades, as a private politician in France, he advocated the English alliance with the same unflagging zeal shown in the same cause by M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador here, first under Queen Victoria, then under King Edward, whose personal collaboration with him caused the "Entente Cordiale" (April 8, 1904) to improve itself into the Anglo-French Agreement. When the ambassador called at Buckingham Palace, orders had been given to put out of sight anything in the nature

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of trophies or other mementoes of British victories over the nation now become our nearest ally. The same considerate courtesy shown by King George in the case of President Poincaré is the gracious link uniting the two episodes in the popular mind of the two countries. It was an English Gallophile surviving from the Court of Queen Victoria to that of her grandson who interpreted the prevailing sentiment when he said, "If Germany attacks France I will serve her with my all, either by working for her here and giving what I can to French ambulances, or by crossing the Channel and becoming a private of volunteers."

King George's welcome to the guests just mentioned had been preceded by a domestic incident exhibiting alike the sagacity and zeal with which, in a home crisis, he reproduced his father's action. King Edward, while heir-presumptive, had been asked to arbitrate between employers and employed during a season peculiarly embittered by East-End strikes; he declined the office in words equally remarkable for their wisdom and kindness. Some nine years after he had gone, the entire capital and country were brought into trouble more far-reaching and grave by the "direct action" of the railway workers. King George was then at Balmoral; nor had he received any suggestion of mediatorial action. The industrial quarrel had been happily composed. London, however, and other parts of the country remained in the ground-swell of agitation and excitement, much interfering with the return to normal conditions. The sovereign therefore thought it his duty to appear among his people. Everywhere the multitude by their acclamations and talk testified their recognition in him not only of their ruler, but of the personal centre of the public life and the personified symbol of the national unity.

The enthusiasm born of that consciousness never asserted itself more impressively than when President Poincaré drove from Buckingham Palace to the

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Guildhall as the Lord Mayor's guest. This, he knew, was a building dating from the fifteenth century, just four years before the Emperor Sigismund (1415) had given the Electorate of Brandenburg to the Hohenzollerns, then newly arrived in Prussia from the Suevian Alps. What other structure in European polity binds the twentieth century to so remote a point in the Middle Ages as that presided over by the Lord Mayor of London, the feasting-place not only of British statesmen from the time that statesmanship began, but the most impressive of local links uniting our national story with the remotest people and rulers of the earth?

CHAPTER III

SPIRITUAL TYPES AND LINKS

English visits of the Persian Shahs under three reigns—While King George welcomes the Shah in London the Prince of Wales wins golden opinions on American visit—The Oriental estimate of our present state, social, moral and political—England “the most genuinely Christian country of the world”—Benjamin Disraeli and the Public Worship Bill (1874)—Religious views of three sovereigns—The dawn of Ritualism—The impartiality to Anglican leaders shown by four royal generations—The heir-apparent’s colonial experiences—The religious cataclysm resulting from the Great War—Tendency towards a sceptical view of Divine mercy—Froude’s quotation—Links between the spiritual forces of to-day and those of Liddon, King, Pusey, Illingworth, Scott-Holland—Sunday observance of the post-Crimean epoch and that of to-day—How Society in William IV’s reign spent the Sabbath—Palmerston’s era—Its Evangelical ascendancy in Church and State—Mrs. Villiers—Lord Shaftesbury—The affinity of three centuries of Sunday observance—Other points of resemblance between 1856 and the period following the European War—Gambling, and the Anti-Gaming Committee—The prize ring—Birth of new superstitions, *e.g.* the spiritualistic vogue—Reconstruction in the pulpit—Dean Inge, the successor of Milman and Mansel—The Bishop of London’s work among the criminal classes—Revival of Convocation (1852), and, three-quarters of a century later, Canon Temple’s Church Parliament movement—Dr. Gore and his successor, Dr. Burge—Ritualist leaders’ attitude towards Evangelicalism—Dr. Handley Moule of Durham—How Dr. Gore’s popularity recalls that of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce—Dr. Woods—Canon Edward Burroughs—The oratorical effects of C. H. Spurgeon and Canon J. B. Fleming—Dr. Jowett, Dr. Campbell Morgan and Dr. F. B. Meyer

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—Dr. J. Scott Lidgett—Dr. Hutton of Glasgow—How these leaders unite their religious Communions to the National Church and to Anglo-Saxon Churches beyond seas.

EARLY in the November of 1919 an Oriental potentate bearing a long-familiar title became the central figure in the international functions that unite so closely the present reign with the last. Nasr-ed-Din, Shah of Persia (1829-96), made the acquaintance of the British Isles on two occasions in the Victorian age. His second son and successor, Musaffer-ed-Din, followed his father's example. In receiving the "King of Kings" the British sovereign lacked the assistance of his eldest son, only because the Prince of Wales was then traversing the same lands and seas of the New World, and nearly in the same order, as had been done by his grandfather exactly fifty-nine years before. The twentieth-century heir to the British crown, in the greatest of our dependencies across the Atlantic, as well as in the United States, reproduced all the ancestral qualities, the easy yet observant interest in everything he saw, in the daily business, the social amusements and sportsmanship of his hosts. On the same day he saw in 1919 the condition of the tree planted by his grandfather at George Washington's grave in 1860, found President Wilson well enough to entertain him at the White House, and noted the delight with which his host read Queen Alexandra's telegram about his own health and her grandson's little stay at Washington.

Youth, charm of manner, unaffected freshness of interest, and connection with the oldest and greatest of Western monarchies, formed the strands added to the bond of Anglo-American amity by the Prince of Wales. Those qualities displayed by his father during his early naval years, on a Constantinople visit, equally delighted the Sultan and his subjects, and made the then Prince George of Wales the most popular of nineteenth-century visitors in Turkey. The empire of

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George V includes nearly half ¹ the Mohammedans in all the world. While the heir to the British Throne was winning the heart of Canada and the United States, the Oriental visitors to his father's capital were forming their impressions of our own spiritual and moral, as well as social state.

Among those in the Shah's train who had their Bible in the Koran was a Bagdad gentleman of educated intelligence and cosmopolitan impartiality, whose acquaintance I had kept up ever since he had first crossed the Dover Straits with Nasr-ed-Din. I now asked him what he thought about the changes in this country on revisiting it after so long an interval. "Undoubtedly," he answered, "the easy tolerance by your politest world of an English advance in the direction of Asiatic matrimonial usage. Plurality of wives is, of course, in a way an Oriental speciality. The institution, however, is much exaggerated by the Western mind. Polygamy is, in fact, with us on the downgrade, as you call it, because experience has taught us that a system of legally unlimited wedlock, in the great majority of instances if not universally, proves less convenient than the companionship of a single partner. For myself, one wife has always been enough, and even at times too many. Now look you at home, my friend; do you not know more than one head of the family whose household gods are located in Mayfair or South Kensington, but who takes his part in quite another drama of domesticity at a bijou residence in a north- or south-western suburb of your metropolis? In all this there is of course no novelty, unless it be that the little arrangements, once veiled in secrecy, are now neither concealed nor denied. What now strikes me as quite an innovation is the epidemic of rather puerile indecency which has spread from your music-halls, or those resorts that are a cross between the music-hall and the theatre, to the adver-

¹ The world's Mohammedan total is estimated at 221,825,000. Of this the British Empire includes 100,000,000.

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tisement columns of your revolutionised but avowedly respectable if not Puritan Press. In one column an Anglican or dissenting divine delivers a discourse on the most solemn mysteries of his faith. That letter-press is so closely elbowed by, or confusedly intermingled with, posturing semi-nude women that the effort of pictorial pruriency might seem intended to serve as illustrations to the serious homily. They are, of course, only announcements of surpassing merits of somebody's latest triumph in corsets or combinations.

"Art, I hear, has diffused itself throughout the humblest classes: the handmaid of art is the kinema. I thought I would judge for myself; I visited the other day one of these exhibitions in a decorous and even fashionable neighbourhood, and soon saw enough of the pictures and the audience to make me leave the place with an unpleasant taste in my mouth. I had heard much on my journey here about the sobering effects on the entire English people of recent world-wide convulsions. Of course more families are in mourning than when I was last here, and a large proportion of black is mingled with the bright colours that I am happy to see displacing the æsthetic, washed-out greens and yellows that I observed everywhere on my former visit. But in these things one likes to go beneath the surface.

"When first coming here, the best part of a quarter of a century ago, I had been told by a French friend, 'You will find in England thirty-six religions and one sauce.' As for the sauce, I called at my hotel the other day for Worcester or Harvey's, and they had neither. Apropos of religion, I counted last Saturday in an evening paper's announcements something like a score of places at which religious services would be held on the morrow. I also dipped into a clever young Conservative's vivacious 'reminiscences' and noticed his lament of the nineteenth-century mistake made by his leaders in supporting beer and Bible, as they soon found everyone had given up drinking beer and nobody

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read the Bible. Before retiring to rest I lighted on a newspaper report of one among your greatest ecclesiastic's opinions about your countrymen who have won the war for you, and your popular relations to this planet's supernatural control. 'Man,' were the words of this divine, 'remains what he has always been—a splendid fighting animal, a self-sacrificing hero, and a bloodthirsty savage. Religion remains as impotent as it was before the War.' "

"Englishmen," remarked, in another conversation, my friend from the land of the Tigris, "under-rate or rather entirely ignore the interest in their spiritual state, as shown by visible manifestations animating the more intellectual observers who watch them from my part of the world. Your denominational varieties and disputes may be unintelligible to us. We know, however, what Christianity professes to do and to be; England we regard as the most genuinely Christian country of the world. From however great a distance, therefore, we watch your faith in its daily workings in concrete manifestations. Its history has been chequered by vicissitudes, but it has lasted and flourished during many centuries."

The continuity of English life and feeling, reducing as it does successive reigns and epochs to a common denominator, could not be better exemplified than by those deeper movements and incidents in Church as well as State about which the Shah's travelling companions would scarcely be expected to trouble themselves. These, however, contained in themselves the most powerful of all cements for connecting the new Georgian with the Victorian and Edwardian age. The nineteenth century closed with renewed controversy about public worship in the national Church. Benjamin Disraeli, while a Conservative leader in the Commons (1874), had mingled in these disputes after a very characteristic fashion. "To know these things is the salvation of youth"; to such effect he had chosen a motto from Terence for *Lothair* (1870). The eponym-

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ous hero of that novel personified the English people distracted by the competition of Roman rites with the Protestant faith and ceremonial of the national Church.

Some months later, in the early summer of 1874, he took up as a Government Bill a measure introduced by Archbishop Tait for regulating Anglican worship. "This," he said, when emphasising its necessity, "is a Bill to put down ritualism and to end Mass in masquerade." The Public Worship Bill became law during the summer of 1874. The opposition offered by Gladstone and the most advanced section of the High Anglican party was not more marked than its failure to accomplish its professed object. It was not greater than the bitterness it aroused in Parliament and the consequences which followed it in the country, and went no small way towards defeating the purpose for which it had been framed. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which administered it, enforced it with a more powerful severity against vestments than against doctrines, resulting in the imprisonment of several ritualistic clergymen. It did not, however, stop the practices complained of, and was felt to operate so unsatisfactorily that the bishops began to refuse their consent, an essential condition as defined by the Bill, to the prosecutions for which it provided the machinery. In that they had the support of public opinion. The Primate acknowledged the legislative mistake by securing in 1881 the Commission investigating Ecclesiastical Courts, which reported against the existing system. The next year Archbishop Tait died; on his deathbed he bequeathed to his successor a legacy of toleration and peace. The prosecutions gradually fell off, at last ceased altogether. Since the early 'eighties no instance has occurred of imprisonment for priestly insubordination.

In 1892 alleged Romanising practices produced a prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln, but gave the Privy Council an opportunity to review earlier decisions in cases of this kind. Since then ritual

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litigation has ceased to exist, the net result being a signal victory for the most advanced Anglicanism, inasmuch as the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Communion Service have their place in the Church of England's doctrine and worship.

Nevertheless differences about Church doctrine and practice connect the public discussions of the Victorian with those of the present Georgian era. During March 1898 the Salisbury administration introduced a measure on the subject of benefices. Its original proposals were subsequently reinforced by further suggestions by Mr. Lyttelton. The Protestant temper of the popular Chamber showed itself in the proposed enlargement of the measure now before the House, so as to include the violation of Protestant law by dogmas, ceremonies, and priestly garbs that were an outrage on the principles established by the sixteenth-century Reformation. More than this, one of the bishops from his place in Convocation had asserted the existence and the secret activities, within the Church of England itself, to assimilate Anglican procedure and belief to that of the Church presided over by the Pope. On all these things Sir William Harcourt dwelt with great force, both in addressing Parliament and with his pen. Put in a few words, the charge, never before made so openly and definitely, was that the Church of England contained a growing number of ministers who were taking the wages of the Church of England to preach, practice and spread throughout the national Establishment the ritual and beliefs of the Church of Rome. Parliamentarians of calibre inferior to Sir William Harcourt and many well-meaning, not less than earnest, evangelical clergy have periodically renewed this accusation ever since; it is beaten into the ears and mind of King George not less assiduously than it was impressed upon King Edward.

Both these sovereigns have shown themselves the worthy descendants from their great ancestress in their method of receiving these impeachments. The English

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people, it has been said, not without some degree of truth, from Tudor times onward have always taken their religion from their Court. It has been added that the Prince Consort's alleged German latitudinarianism encouraged religious liberalism during the nineteenth century's first half. With equal truth it might be said that his beautiful accomplishments and tastes made him co-operate with the men who led the Oxford Movement of the 'thirties in rehabilitating our churches and in brightening their services. Queen Victoria's husband died in 1861: before then, "in places and churches where they sing," a new reverence in the conduct of worship had brought with it innovations as startling as they were commendable in the vocal methods of the choir and in the instrumental accompaniment to the singing. Queen Victoria and her consort could be charged with no doctrinal, ceremonial or sectarian preferences. The appointment of palace chaplains showed the evenness with which they held the party scales, and Archibald Campbell Tait was as welcome and frequent a guest at Windsor as Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

In all religious matters the official, if not the purely personal and private, view of Queen Victoria was exactly that of her successors up to the present time. The spiritual atmosphere of the nineteenth-century palace resembles that of the twentieth in commanding tranquil but genuine and uniform piety with the truest Christian charity and the widest toleration. Delighting at her Highland home in the simple Presbyterian service of the village church, Queen Victoria took a natural interest in the Lutheran rites, in which her husband had been brought up. At the same time she missed no opportunity of showing her respectful and sympathetic consideration for the susceptibilities as well as convictions of her Roman Catholic subjects; sometimes she thought these were insufficiently considered. In that case she never failed to address some words of protest or caution to that

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quarter where responsibility lay. King Edward not only inherited the maternal feeling on these subjects, but was versed by his own special experiences in the favour of those about him who, whether of Church or State, did not carry their Protestant loyalty to the Puritan point. He had never been in favour with the Nonconformist section whose ideas of Christian charity are exclusively dictated by the Nonconformist conscience. The heir apparent's conduct was so often aspersed or misrepresented by Dissenter critics that on one occasion he placed the matter before the Primate. The extreme Evangelicals within the Established Church constantly advocated the union with their Protestant brethren outside the Anglican limit. Might not the Archbishop of Canterbury let it be known that no increase of Protestant comprehensiveness in the Establishment could abrogate or weaken the prohibition in the Decalogue of bearing false witness against one's neighbour?

The actual opening of King Edward's reign was preceded by an incident at once attesting his own fidelity to his mother's religious principles and charitable practice and the advance made in all directions by a century of Christian toleration since the Victorian era began. Eight years before that era Roman Catholic emancipation had been carried. Before the epoch ended and the Edwardian age began, members of the Church of Rome had become eligible for almost every office under Crown or Parliament. All religions in the eye of the law and constitution had become equal when Edward VII succeeded to the throne. Was it not, therefore, at once a gratuitous and insulting anachronism that the new king's vows of loyalty to the Protestant faith should be accompanied by any expressions offensive to, or justly resented by, sincere believers like the Duke of Norfolk, for instance, in the faith which had the Pope as its visible head?

The late Queen's well-known regard for the spiritual convictions of all her subjects was shared not only by

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her son and successor, but by several of his constitutional advisers. Only three years less than three-quarters of a century ago the removal of Catholic disabilities had given the Pope's subjects all the public privileges enjoyed by Protestants. What need of justification, therefore, could there be for the royal formula continuing to denounce the religion of which Anglicanism as by law established was an offshoot? Would not the omission from the oath of the offending words be a gracious, a happy and a wise fulfilment in spirit of the letter of the law that, eight years before Queen Victoria's accession, had opened all public offices to Papists? The suggested alteration in the oath, if effected then, would have made King George's entrance on his reign a landmark in the English development of religious equality, and would even link it with the closing stage of the religious movement which the third George had always resisted, but to which the Duke of Wellington had little difficulty in securing his successor's consent.

The most prominent features in the religious state of the twentieth century in England necessarily or accidentally associate themselves with the personages and movements of a much earlier time, forming a union with the past scarcely intelligible now without a few retrospective words. The High Church agencies of the thirties and the decades immediately following produced improvements as regards punctuality and decorum in the national Church, but were not immediately followed by any startling ceremonial innovations. On the contrary, J. H. Newman, when becoming Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford (1843), objected to candlesticks or candles on the communion table. The poet of the *Christian Year* was considered by Newman to have given the signal of Anglo-Catholic, or Anti-Protestant action in his sermon on national apostasy (1833). People's services in his Hursley church were remarkable not only for their reverence but for good taste and simplicity. Years went on, and the rank and

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file of the clergy, indoctrinated with the sacramental principles of these teachers, began to express their loyalty to their teachers in concrete form. Dr. Hook of Chichester and Dr. Wilberforce of Oxford openly disapproved Dr. Pusey's editorship of devotional books drawn from Roman sources. Orthodox High Churchmen like Lord Selborne or Butler of Wantage distrusted Mr. Mackonochie's ceremonial developments at Baldwin's Gardens, or Mr. Lowder's at London Docks. In this way ritualism found its name and its local habitations (1866). Distrusted or disliked by the moderate men of both political parties and several varieties of the Ecclesiastical Court, it found few advocates among the bishops, who indeed at once began to press on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the need for dealing with offences in ceremony far more severely than with offences of doctrine.

Meanwhile ritualism found unexpected support in the highest places. Three years had passed since the most universally beloved and admired palace personage of her time had become the heir-apparent's bride. The comparatively unadorned functions of her native Lutheran communion did not prevent the services at Whitehall from impressing the Princess of Wales as repellently cold. The Neo-Anglican functions, on the other hand, full of warmth and colour, well suited the future queen, and soon won high favour with the whole Court entourage. Evangelicalism, like all its works, had never condescended to commend itself to the Court. On the contrary, its loose, ill-natured and unverified gossip about Queen Victoria's older sons presented the entire cult in the most unattractive light possible to the Prince of Wales, who, however, continued to show the same impartial courtesy to all Anglican leaders, Low not less than High; to a Kingsley as to a Liddon, to a Bickersteth not less than to a Wilberforce. Thus the modern traditional practice of the Crown was essentially a Victorian legacy.

King George is not the only illustration of the

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pantheon. Meanwhile the home-staying populations of the earth sought to find in their Bibles precedents reconciling the Divine mercy with the Divine vengeance on sin. Anglo-Saxon Protestantism painfully recalled that the God of its great teacher Bunyan resembled rather the Zeus of the *Iliad* than the Jehovah of Job. So, too, with Homer and his poetic disciple Milton. The deity of the English poet, like that of the Greek, is neither all powerful nor all just. In the *Iliad*, not less than in *Paradise Lost*, are his celestial sovereignty and knowledge beyond question. Milton's Jehovah, no more than the heathen Jove, can ward off heavenly attack by angelic rebels, who in the English poem are not finally overcome before the Satanic artillery has inflicted heavy losses. Even the victory won is far from being complete. When the contest closes the Miltonic deity pronounces a curse on what He has created. The movements of the sun are to affect the earth with cold and heat scarce tolerable; moon and planets are to join in synod unbenign.

These are the features in the celestial conduct that moved the historian Froude to sum up the Divine character and procedure in the Latin quotation: "Deus aut non vult tollere mala aut nequit. Si non vult non est bonus; si nequit non est omnipotens." All this, with much more of the same sort, was recalled by a bewildered, a distressed, but by no means an irreligious public. Might it not explain the absence of celestial intervention to remove or relieve the universal terrors of the time? The limits of scriptural omnipotence were discussed in newspaper correspondence, whose authors reminded us of the nineteenth-century Mansel and Mill controversy about the exact sense belonging to epithets like good, merciful, just, righteous and true when applied to an Infinite Being. The same subject had also been considered by the great logician in his posthumous essays on religion, where the conclusion reached seemed to be that the Creator of the

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bonds of some up-to-date fraternity. Throughout the world the War raised its own religious problems, recalling rather than resembling those of an earlier epoch. Nineteenth-century unbelief originated for the masses in the effects of science upon Revelation. Geology and other investigations of the visible universe discredited, it was said, the Scriptural account of the Creation, especially of man's beginnings. The incompatibility dividing the two sets of narratives had little or no effect upon the conduct of daily life, and was gradually forgotten or ignored. The spiritual or ecclesiastical controversies between rival sects at home found their counterpart beyond seas; everywhere they receded into the background.

It was quite different with the deeper thoughts excited throughout the world by the ubiquitous convulsions that began in 1914. That conflict was demonstrably the outcome of territorial and commercial greed, of long-cherished ambition, national or individual, for world power. In other words, it was, as is shown on a later page, a long premeditated conspiracy against European freedom, awaiting for its outburst a complete union between the forces of bloodshed and lust. The long-drawn-out vicissitudes with which the struggle opened, the seeming invincibility of the foe during whole years of attack or defence, agonised the Allied nations with a suspense scarcely less terrible than what so often looked like their fruitless outlay of life and treasure. These experiences set many openly asking, and more secretly wondering, whether the supernatural government of the world was real or a fiction, and what sort of a deity it must be not only to allow these unending abominations, but to make no sign of disapproving their authors. On the other hand, any serious check to victorious progress by those who gloried in their enmity to God and man drew forth from their inhuman ruler the advice to invoke the good old German God, not perhaps in the place of, but in addition to, the ghostly potentates of the Christian

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pantheon. Meanwhile the home-staying populations of the earth sought to find in their Bibles precedents reconciling the Divine mercy with the Divine vengeance on sin. Anglo-Saxon Protestantism painfully recalled that the God of its great teacher Bunyan resembled rather the Zeus of the *Iliad* than the Jehovah of Job. So, too, with Homer and his poetic disciple Milton. The deity of the English poet, like that of the Greek, is neither all powerful nor all just. In the *Iliad*, not less than in *Paradise Lost*, are his celestial sovereignty and knowledge beyond question. Milton's Jehovah, no more than the heathen Jove, can ward off heavenly attack by angelic rebels, who in the English poem are not finally overcome before the Satanic artillery has inflicted heavy losses. Even the victory won is far from being complete. When the contest closes the Miltonic deity pronounces a curse on what He has created. The movements of the sun are to affect the earth with cold and heat scarce tolerable; moon and planets are to join in synod unbenign.

These are the features in the celestial conduct that moved the historian Froude to sum up the Divine character and procedure in the Latin quotation: "Deus aut non vult tollere mala aut nequit. Si non vult non est bonus; si nequit non est omnipotens." All this, with much more of the same sort, was recalled by a bewildered, a distressed, but by no means an irreligious public. Might it not explain the absence of celestial intervention to remove or relieve the universal terrors of the time? The limits of scriptural omnipotence were discussed in newspaper correspondence, whose authors reminded us of the nineteenth-century Mansel and Mill controversy about the exact sense belonging to epithets like good, merciful, just, righteous and true when applied to an Infinite Being. The same subject had also been considered by the great logician in his posthumous essays on religion, where the conclusion reached seemed to be that the Creator of the

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universe possessed indeed powers immeasurably more than human, but still subject to limitations appreciably qualifying omnipotence.

The disturbing influence of such reflections made itself long felt not only among those peoples of his own race recently visited by the Prince of Wales, but wherever human beings exist on the surface of our planet. The belief in an overruling Providence is easy enough when He is on one's own side. In the twentieth as in the first century, it was His chastisements which made the belief more difficult, or less welcome.

If there, however, still remain any signs of these disquieting speculations, they are now only part of the ground-swell that follows each storm. Rationalism will always be as common to human nature as superstition. The spiritual links uniting nations and classes to-day were forged by the great movements and their makers of the nineteenth century. Lineal descent from the great ecclesiastics and theologians of that age forms the clerical pedigree of the personal forces whose energy and influence proclaim them to-day the successors of Liddon, King, Pusey or of the next generation including Illingworth and Scott Holland. In these days of reconstruction all round, the Churches supply the most noticeable and serviceable links between the old order and the new.

In these matters history has refused to repeat itself more decisively than is generally supposed. After the world-wide convulsions of five years beginning in 1914, it has been natural to compare our domestic state to-day with that of rather more than half a century ago, at the close of what remained for so long our only great European war of recent times. In 1856 the most vivacious, versatile, thoughtful, as well as shrewd among the great ladies of that time somewhat resented the sombre shadows cast on society in general by the serious temper and incidents of daily life. Mrs.

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Villiers,¹ during the early part of the season in which she died—1856—found herself not a little depressed by the growing Sabbatarianism and general gloom of the times. Her memory went back to the Court of George III;—what a contrast to the funereal doings of her old age! Queen Charlotte's great time for her drawing-rooms was after church on Sunday; women in full dress had gone to the Chapel Royal, by way, as one of them said, of doing the civil thing, and come on to the palace afterwards. Everybody had dinners; most people played cards. "Now," she exclaims, "we are Judaised, and the whole idea of the Sabbath is brought back from the Christian holy-day to the Mosaic observance." The House of Commons had now (February 22, 1856) defeated a motion opening the picture galleries after Sunday church by 376 to 248. The two or three decades including or immediately preceding these instances of Puritan recrudescence presented many varieties of Sunday observance or profanation. Under William IV the guest pleasure parties were fixed for the first day of the week; equally in and out of church hours all the parks were crowded with carriages, loungers on foot, or even equestrians. The Duke of Wellington was on horseback in Piccadilly; in Hyde Park poor men by troops were busy watering the Ladies' Mile. Soldiers were exercising at Knightsbridge. At Hammersmith on a Sunday noon Sir Robert Peel, the pink of social orthodoxy, himself on horseback, met the Lord Chief Justice, also in the saddle, and an hour or two later was examining the pictures with him at Hampton Court. Three years before Queen Victoria's accession the Lords were considering a petition against Cabinet dinners on Sunday. Sabbatic Cabinet meetings, however, excited no protest; these indeed lasted throughout the fourth

¹ Mother of Lord Clarendon, never herself a peeress, though her daughters had the precedence in style of an earl's children, the most devoted of parents and sagacious of friends.

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William's reign. In 1847, however, Lord Chancellor Campbell, summoned to a Sunday Cabinet, speaks of its being full ten years since anything of that sort had happened.¹ The Parliamentary debates of this time brought out the fact that in the early Christian Church Sunday observance of the modern evangelical sort had been entirely unknown. Sunday secularisation, so far from being, as some have thought, a nineteenth-century novelty, is rather a social usage, linking the new age with that of our grandparents and great-grandparents. The Palmerstonian period, so unacceptable to Mrs. Villiers in some of its aspects, was one of evangelical ascendancy in Church, State and Society. The bestowal of mitres was influenced by the good Lord Shaftesbury, the "poor man's peer," and till long after the middle of the nineteenth century the "wicked appointments," as Doctor Wilberforce called them, filled the Bench with prelates especially acceptable to Low Church vicars and the working-classes, but, in Doctor Pusey's opinion, the ruin of the Church. Under that dispensation the Evangelical Sunday was scarcely less of an ordinance with most or many English religious households than it was on the north of the Tweed during the years of devotional reaction from the laxity introduced, when High Commissioner, by Lord Belhaven, who breakfasted and dined the General Assembly on Sunday.² As advanced Anglicanism became more and more the vogue, Sabbatic usage, even on the most orthodox levels, adapted itself increasingly to the ways and conveniences of the world. The first day of the week was as much set apart for professional, literary, artistic and fashionable dinners of all kinds as it had been in the earlier decade when Ralph

¹ Meanwhile, even among the Jews themselves, the Sabbath, *i.e.* the Gentile Saturday, had shed many of its obligations, assimilating itself rather to the Sabbath of the Apocrypha (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xii. 6, 2).

² This practice was brought to an end by Chalmers, who, when Moderator, absented himself from these hospitalities.

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Nickleby sumptuously fêted Sir Mulberry Hawk and their almost victim, his pretty niece, at the house, re-decorated for the occasion, in Golden Square.

Then, moreover, as has been the case continuously ever since, the House of Commons met every evening, and sat often far into the night; party discipline kept members on both sides within call of the division bell. The whips' vigilance kept within the precincts of St. Stephen's such representatives of the people as essayed without leave departure for a private dinner-table elsewhere. Newspaper leaders now covered in their comments the entire sitting, from its commencement, however early, to its close, however late. Actors were social figures as prominent once more as had been Garrick himself. Journalists had become a powerful guild, much in social evidence and request. For these two considerable classes Sunday was the one possible dinner evening. Meanwhile the example and influence of the palace threw their weight into the same scale. The Victorian Court remained, as it ever had been, a pattern for the world's royalties. The Prince Consort had imbibed from youth and brought with him to England Protestant but not Sabbatarian ideas. Theatres, operas and concert-halls, never more crowded in Germany than on the first day of the week, made the Sunday of Continental Protestantism a marked contrast in everything save its devotional rites to the Puritan Sabbath of his adopted country. Hence the affinity, in its twentieth-century observance, of the great English rest-day not only to the custom of King George's latest predecessors, but of those who mounted the throne nearer to the Revolution of 1688.

It would be well if in contemporary amusements and manners all other resemblances of the twentieth to the eighteenth and earliest nineteenth century were as innocent as this. At the opening of the Victorian era most of the more central West End thoroughfares, as well as many more to the east of Temple Bar, were

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honeycombed by gaming-dens, to enter which was to fall among thieves. Many of these were known as "Silver Hells." Gold and bank-notes lined the Road to Ruin; at Crockford's, in St. James's Street, the most magnificent and aristocratic among those Temples of Chance, were men of fashion, rank, reading and brains, amid the surroundings of a palace, with an air of patrician indifference, who wrecked their own and their family fortunes. The scandal not only grew to such a height, but involved so many of Palmerston's personal and political friends, that his Government could not refuse the inquiry pressed upon him. Some would have been content had this been limited to the humble though not the least predatory of these places. The fine gentlemen who committed pecuniary and often territorial suicide at Crockford's did so in an honourable manner. The play was as thoroughly honest as the environment was splendid, but respect of persons proved impossible, and Crockford's had to go. With it there closed the most curiously varied, tragic or tragi-comic chapter in the history of British gaming. To belong to Crockford's was to be in the most distinguished centre of London society, and nightly to see the traditions of Charles James Fox carried on by his most modern successors. Of all Crockford's habitués surviving in our own time, the most observant, graphic, as well as most widely known, was the late Frank Lawley; from him the world learned that Crockford, acting as croupier, was under a contract to supply every evening a bank of £10,000.

Palmerston authorised the Anti-Gaming Committee with reluctance and with the remark, "You may put play down by Act of Parliament and in any given place you choose; the instinct, however, will not be eradicated and will create the opportunity for gratifying itself elsewhere, under conditions more discreditable and perhaps disastrous than to-day in St. James's Street." The prediction has found, not for the first time, a literal fulfilment. During the late 'fifties, after

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the Crimean War, an outbreak of play invaded the joint-stock caravanserais of Pall Mall and St. James's, as well as many humbler resorts, and showed itself by adventures of City speculations, together with much gambling in the Stocks. In that respect our social experiences to-day curiously resemble those of three generations ago. The personal supervision and interests, securing perfect honesty at Crockford's, are gone, but the degenerate, more or less squalid and unspeakably infamous institutions now attempting its reproduction enrich an increasing number of "hell" proprietors and make constant additions to the number of those they entice to beggary. Now, as formerly, the punters see that it is always the rank which wins. The automaton chess-player of the nineteenth-century Crystal Palace, when getting the worst of the game, had a way of upsetting the board and all the pieces on it. Similarly, the banker at the gambling-tables of the present Georgian epoch can stop the game whenever he likes; in other words, when satisfied with the amount that has found its way into the pool. The games may vary, the ladies' favourite perhaps being *chemin de fer*, so flagrantly illegal as to be tabooed even at private houses. The "hell"-keepers of to-day rent premises with a good address, engage discreet, well-paid servants, and exclude all players who have not money to lose, or on whom they cannot rely to keep things dark. The risk, therefore, of detection and punishment is reduced in all cases to the lowest. A sharp watch is kept outside night and day. Hush-money is ever ready without stint. Should the police show themselves on the scent, the premises are cleared, and the patrons of the establishment are notified of its transfer to a more commodious building. Should there at any time be a prosecution—a comparatively rare event—the proprietor, in most cases a moneylender as well, seldom suffers much loss, or he finds a scapegoat among his under-strappers. The legislation that followed the Gambling Committee of 1844 put down

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not only Crockford's, but the smaller houses where the play was not always so honestly conducted as in the St. James's Street palace. Officers or others returning from the Crimean War found the Coventry Club, or the "Velvet Cushion," the one successor, at a great distance, of the palatial "hell" known to them by tradition. After an interval of sixty-five years the survivors of the great European campaigns find in twentieth-century London opportunities of ruining themselves, suited to every purse and rank, in a profusion unknown to their predecessors of 1856.

To soldier, however, not less than to civilian, time has brought with it entirely new good as well as some fresh evil. Womanly devotion and self-sacrifice, as well as the heroism of fathers and sons, are so many strands in the link connecting the struggles of the later with those of the earlier epoch. On the 4th January, 1920, the most experienced of the Church Militant, Archdeacon Southwell, unveiled the Roll of Honour in a Sussex church (that of the Holy Trinity, Hove, Brighton). His sermon on the occasion contained much of personal interest and historic value about religion and the War. He could testify that within his own knowledge the chief officers of the Allied armies, a Haig, an Allenby, a Rawlinson, a Foch, a Petain, were active believers in the Gospel revelation, and diffused by their very presence and talk a purifying and spiritualising influence. Those representing the Free Churches at the Front, by co-operating with their Anglican colleagues, made good their claim to the same description, and formed links in a chain of religious ministration uniting them with fellow-workers from every part of the English-speaking world. Of those thus referred to, two chaplains, both commissioned officers as well, Major F. J. Miles, D.S.O., and Captain Guy Thornton, both belong to the Baptists, and proved themselves in the trenches and under fire inspiring examples of Christian manhood before being exclusively told off for spiritual work.

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Lives and characters of this kind are a national possession common to different periods. Their presence among us to-day will recall to not a few the Captain Hedley Vicars of Crimean days. Not less, also, to the Neo-Georgian than to the Victorian age has there been a fulfilment of the Hebrew prophet's words, "that Thy teachers shall not be removed into a corner" (Isaiah xxx, 20). During the earlier of those periods, the Scottish Savonarola of two London temples (Edward Irving, in 1822 at Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, afterwards at Regent's Park Church) as a prophet of the Second Advent had been followed in the same rôle by Dr. Cumming in the pulpit of the London Scottish church filled by him for nearly half a century. Then, as now, a European war had decimated many families. It was on February 23, 1855, that John Bright electrified the House of Commons and thrilled the country by the most pathetic passage in any of his speeches, in which he described the Angel of Death as "abroad throughout the land," adding the profoundly effective touch: "You may almost hear the beating of his wings." The echoes awakened by these memorable words more than sixty years since were, it might almost be said, renewed daily by the newspaper tidings between 1914 and 1918.

The moral and spiritual accompaniments of the two eras now compared, possessed in common characteristics which it may now be of interest to indicate. New religions or superstitions were incessantly springing up from the teeming soil of second- and third-century Imperial Rome. A like phenomenon was experienced in English life during the war with Russia, but asserted itself more impressively and variously while the European States, as a witty Frenchman put it, "were intent on committing suicide." Throughout the years following the period 1820-30 the prize-ring had seemed likely to languish for lack of popular support. Our troops had no sooner departed for the East than there began that revival of the glories of the ring which

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continued to increase till they culminated in the famous Sayers and Heenan battle (1860). So it has been to-day. The newspapers reporting the progress of the war or the prospects of peace have generally given some paragraphs to the glove-fights, often between international combatants, deriving fresh vividness from descriptive details about the smashed jaw-bones and jellified frames as they appeared at the moment of the knock-out blow. Among the less purely material features of both epochs, the "spooks" were not less actively in evidence then than during recent years. Then, too, as now, they were occasionally backed by illustrious partisanship. The first Lord Lytton's occasional patronage was less unqualified than Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's, but anticipated the scientific veneer of Sir Oliver Lodge. On the eve of the decade that included the World Exhibition in Hyde Park, intercourse with our kin beyond seas acquainted us with Mrs. Bloomer's attempt to adapt masculine costume to her Anglo-Saxon sisters, and those years were marked by the introduction from the New World of the fantastic faiths concerned scarcely more with the sanctifying of the spirit than the healing of the body. The twentieth century has witnessed the elaboration of Mrs. Bloomer's crude ideas into the attire, itself a product of the War, that almost abolishes the old distinction between the wardrobe of the two sexes. Under some appearance, in some way or another, the supernatural has invaded every department of human action, prayer, fear, passion, pleasure, taken by the Roman satirist for his subject.

Among other personages equally in evidence in Mid-Victorian years and in the first Georgian decade, the eschatological scaremonger has a place with the empirical healer in his many varieties. The nineteenth-century wars were followed by a long season of spiritualistic vogue. Over and above its English manifestation it was marked (1849) by the earliest great export of spiritualistic novelties from New York,

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and (1867) by the cures credited to the thaumaturgic Zouave in Paris. Among ourselves, while these words are being written, the "spooks," who regained (1894) everything they had lost, were never to such a degree the lords of the ascendant and masters of the whole supernatural situation. Other voices than those of the mere mystery-man, the enthusiast or the self-advertising dabbler in the supernatural, make themselves heard amid the din of the Reconstructionist chorus, swelled by contributions from pulpit or platform of seers and censors, lay or clerical. Among the last of these is the successor of Milman and Mansel in the famous metropolitan deanery rich in associations scarcely less illustrious than those enriching Canterbury itself. Dr. Inge's despairing antithesis and sombre epigrams are in every newspaper and on all lips. Neither the man nor the message, the preacher nor the discourse, can be understood without some retrospect of earliest influence and environment, whose colours have burned themselves into his being. School-mastering, it was said by one of Arnold's most honest disciples, "wars against the soul." The over-strain incurred during four years of Eton pedagogy (1884-8) in his youth goes some way towards explaining this gifted but hypersensitive man's outlook on human nature and the world.

An originality of an even more combative if less pessimistic kind had marked an Eton scholar and teacher belonging to an earlier generation. William Johnson Cory, who lived and worked between 1823 and 1892, had a chief place among intellectual forces operative in William Ralph Inge's social and political development. Before the Dean took up his office, it seemed certain to all who knew him that he might resemble his sixteenth-century predecessor not only in fine Greek scholarship but in the combative temperament which had drawn forth the remark that, but for the Oxford discourse of Erasmus on St. Paul, Dean Colet would never have been stung into circumstan-

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tially contradicting by his famous treatise the Dutch scholar's views concerning the great Apostle to the Gentiles. Dr. Ingram had presided over the London See several years before the vacant Deanery was filled by Dr. Inge's appointment. In Dr. Ingram profound zeal for his work mingled with earnest gratitude and solemnising self-congratulation at the new opportunity of high usefulness to the Church as well as the championship in it of the party to which he was attached. He had received a holy and a happy call not merely to promote the influence and the welfare of his communion, but to supply the needs and to regenerate the character of human nature itself. The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury had been the "poor man's peer"; the Bishop of London resolved that he would show himself the prelate of the masses, the missionary to redeem to Christianity the godless, drunken, unclean rabble of the East End alleys and courts. He knew; had he not himself watched during the progress of the work what General Booth and the Salvation Army had done for the vilest denizens of the darkest and most dangerous slums? Shame on the national Church if one of its servants in the direct line of Apostolic succession, instituted by the Master Himself, should neglect or fail to accomplish the human salvage so triumphantly carried out by an ex-Methodist minister with a genius for organisation. The chief pastor of the metropolis took for his province its uncivilised, almost unexplored, as well as its fashionable and luxurious quarters. Warned against a particularly blasphemous and violent Whitechapel character, the Bishop admitted, "Yes, he is a 'burglar and atheist' all right. Still, there may be stuff about him of which a saint can be made." It may be that the episcopal missionary of the criminal classes discovered that their human nature contained a good deal of the nature belonging to their betters. Hence, perhaps, the often-quoted or long since invented words of some lady of quality: "Yes, we all like and admire him very much. Still, we sometimes wish

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he would treat us a little less as if we were costermongers." To the Dean of the rueful countenance and outlook, the prelatic purpose and method seemed a forlorn hope so desperate as to preclude any rational prospect of even partial success. Why not, therefore, at once proclaim, as the Dean proceeded to do, that "institutional Christianity," if possible and profitable for a rare individual, was for the community a failure.

Ecclesiastical incidents of this kind only repeat in a novel twentieth-century setting what happened in the Victorian Church and State. The clerical agitations in the wake of the Great War only form a fresh link between the reign of Queen Victoria and her grandson. The year 1837 opened, with the writings of Hurrell Froude and Newman, a season of disturbance that included the last of the High Anglican Tracts for the Times, the official toleration of advanced evangelical doctrine by the Gorham judgment, and the admissibility of Broad Church liberalism when the Privy Council, by its Judicial Committee, reversed the sentence condemning *Essays and Reviews*. The temper animating these controversies or decisions only shows itself again in Dean Inge's depressing deliverances on our spiritual state.

One further feature unites the two periods now under comparison. Convocation came to life once more in 1852. After nearly three-quarters of a century a like movement was effected within the national Communion by a former Archbishop's son, Canon (now Bishop) W. Temple, whose provisions for ecclesiastical Home Rule secured Parliamentary sanction, and whose effects have now been declared by the event.

Meanwhile Archbishop Tait's last act had been to deprecate ritual prosecutions and to bequeath the Eirenicon, whose spirit is that of the present day. Religious litigation ended in 1892, when Bishop King of Lincoln was adjudged only in one or two minor matters to have exceeded the sacramental uses that

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had received legal sanction when practised by the founders of his party, famous Anglican fathers like Wilberforce, Pusey, Liddon and Bright. The disappearance of polemical theology from the pulpit, an indisposition to insist on the eternity of punishment after death, and the evaporation of a personal Satan, such as appears in the Book of Job, into an evil influence divested entirely of his mediæval presence and attributes, are among the chief ideas connecting the popular Christianity of the nineteenth with that of the twentieth century; and the determined resistance of the younger Victorians who wore the cassock to Privy Council authority takes shape and organisation in these Georgian days in Bishop Temple's device for committing the Establishment to the crucible. That scheme has already passed into operation, and is absolutely without anything like a precedent in our religious history. Its consequences must be left to prophets. Its methods must reduce to a sect that ecclesiastical polity which, in his once famous Maundy Thursday letter, Disraeli said had alone been able to cope with the Roman discipline tradition, and that only when supported by the efforts of a determined and devoted people. Dr. Arnold's historic *Edinburgh Review* article (1836) was a plea for dealing with the Church as an institution that was nothing less than the nation itself in its religious character. The laity were to be represented in her councils side by side with the clergy. Parochial church councils are the foundation of the Temple scheme, but the franchise for election to these has nothing national about it and identifies it with an extreme and possibly a sectarian minority.

Yet all this time there has been an increase rather than a loss of comprehensiveness, tolerance and genuinely representative attributes in that Church whose membership is a national birthright, and which was good enough for Pusey, Milman, Mansel, Philpotts, Butler of Wantage, Denison and Jowett. At Oxford Dr. Gore has made way for Dr. Burge. He cannot

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with his mitre divest himself of the Nathaniel-like guilelessness, so signally shared by Bishop Ingram, and making both of them for their age twin forces of righteousness. Both these, also, practically perpetuate a characteristic, though often ignored, tradition belonging to the nineteenth-century founder of their school. "I have always loved the Evangelicals," said Dr. Pusey to me in his Christ Church rooms shortly before his death (1882). The real Ritualist leaders to-day see in Evangelicalism a thing not so much evil as inevitable, which in some way or other may even have its uses. Among the chief of these divines thus charitably entreated by the numerical masters of the national faith, Dr. Handley Moule, late Bishop of Durham, in social, academical accomplishments, antecedents in bearing as in doctrine, unites the Anglican Protestantism of to-day with that personified the best part of half a century since by the stalwart figure, the athletic energy and the fine scholarship of "J. G. Ryle of Helmingham." This was the Churchman who, at sixty-four, urged the plea of age for first refusing Disraeli's offer of the Liverpool mitre. "Sir," said the statesman, with a critical glance, "you have a constitution!" In our own day all that was capable and devoted in the writer of John Ruskin's favourite religious manual *Knots United* was seen again in "Handley Dunelm."

Something has already been said of the metropolitan group, somewhat impoverished, perhaps, by the withdrawal of its paragon, Scott Holland, when as yet Canon Illingworth did duty as a parish clergyman before his contribution to *Lux Mundi*. Had that volume been held over to the twentieth century, Ryle the second (now Dean of Westminster), Dr. Talbot of Winchester and Canon Lacey of Worcester would no doubt have enriched it with views well considered and expressed from under the editorship of the still happily surviving and preaching Bishop Charles Gore. Whatever Dr. Gore's place, it must always be one

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of the far-reaching spiritual powers inalienable from unworldliness and self-devotion, linking his present, whatever it may be, with the earlier days of his Abbey eloquence. The London popularity of Bishop Ingram recalls that of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. The resemblance between the two seems the closer to-day because of something like a social competition between the two best-known representatives of Roman and Anglo-Catholicism. Formerly, whenever Cardinal Manning seemed likely to dominate any place or gathering, "S. Winton" had a way of unexpectedly advancing to the place of honour. So now Cardinal Vaughan and Dr. Ingram are the best of friends; but the Bishop seldom misses the opportunity of asserting the precedence due to his office and title.

Some of the names now mentioned suggest the closeness with which pre-eminent gifts of the same sort and other personal qualities bind together successive generations of the same family. Dr. Gore is the only one of his name and house who, via Harrow and Balliol, made his way to the priesthood. In the present Cecil generation, the powers, the honesty, simplicity and earnestness, hereditary attributes, would qualify either of the lay brothers to change place with their episcopal kinsman. Bishop W. Temple's physique, education and experience go together with that paternal gift of clerical statesmanship which had enabled him to convert his measure for a Church Parliament into a body entitled The National Assembly of the Church of England, consisting of three houses—Bishops, Clergy and Laity. With the author of this scheme are the great Ryle's son, the Dean of Westminster, and the Winchester diocesan, whose ecclesiasticism comes to him from his father, the most clerically-minded politician of his time, the perfectly blameless John Talbot, who ousted Gladstone from the Oxford University seat. The recent metamorphosis in Church and State policy, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, possessed nothing in common with Thomas

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Arnold's plan for practically making the Church co-extensive with the nation in his *Edinburgh Review* article (1836), "The Oxford Malignants." Bishop Temple, it is not to be forgotten, has long resembled his father of the pre-episcopal period by his efforts to bring his University and the industrial orders into increasing touch with each other. He has never dreamed of making any active move in the direction of the Arnoldian ideal.

The central and all-absorbing object ever present to the Rugby Headmaster was to ennoble and consecrate British citizenship by bringing the power of the Saviour's life and death to bear upon every individual Englishman. In the present connection Bishop Temple's Church Parliament has a special interest, because it affords the latest instance of that organising activity within the Church which first conspicuously asserted itself during the mid-Victorian decades, and which culminated in the revival of the ancient clerical body, Convocation. Only a few names are necessary to show that the parallel may be extended from methods to men. Dr. Woods of Peterborough is as much a man for the age as were any of the nineteenth-century spiritual lordships. Full alike of apostolic earnestness and apostolic simplicity, in appearance as well as in way of life, he shows himself the true shepherd of the whole countryside, avoiding motors and railways, but walking, with episcopal staff in hand, from parish to parish. Among this Bishop's cathedral clergy is one whose Harrow and Balliol distinctions resemble those of Bishop Gore, but include prizes which he was not in the way of taking. Canon Edward Arthur Burroughs stands out from his contemporaries as the unique combination of patristic and ecclesiastical learning with practical insight into the spiritual needs of the masses, as well as a growing sufficiency to supply them. Anglicanism of all varieties found itself stirred to new efforts during the years that followed the Crimean War, and this to no small extent in con-

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sequence of what was done and said by the future Cardinal Manning shortly after his secession to Rome in 1851. The Church of England pulpit, he said, had ceased to be a power with the middle and lower classes because the preacher had taken to writing his sermons. This made him appear less in earnest and less careful than when thinking out the discourse he was to speak, while the artisans were an increasingly sceptical and thinking race. A similar opinion on the same subject, based upon a practical knowledge at least as wide and discriminating as Manning's, found repeated expression among Church of England clergymen themselves. The extraordinary pulpit effects produced by John Angell James at the Carr's Lane Congregational Chapel first, by his successors from R. W. Dale to Dr. J. H. Jowett, and in the Baptist Communion above all by C. H. Spurgeon, were an Anglican as well as Nonconformist landmark. For their congregations included the most earnest of the national clergy, impelled by a desire to witness the oratorical and exegetical methods whose results were talked of and felt throughout the English-speaking world.

The same sort of experience has repeated itself among the clerics of the present reign. Even the undoubtedly original Dean of St. Paul's would not have uttered his social and political jeremiads but for the pessimistic inspiration caught from Cardinal Vaughan and the other Catholic homilist of the same name who denounced "the sins of society." In the nineteenth century Canon J. B. Fleming began at All Saints' Chapel, Bath, went to St. Michael's, Chester Square, and was thence promoted to a prebendal stall at York. In all these positions and capacities this good and gifted clergyman displayed equally his indebtedness as an elocutionist to the great actor, Macready, under whom he had studied the art of delivery, and to the greatest pulpit master since Latimer of that evangelical fervour and humorous quaintness which for twenty years (1867-87) filled the vast South London tabernacle,

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capable of containing six thousand hearers. Under the last reign the twentieth-century vicar of Christ Church, Westminster (R. J. Campbell), in his ministry at a Brighton Congregational chapel first, then at the City Temple, was accepted by some Anglican pupils as a master in the art of fixing the attention of an audience by the aids of a facile speech and a picturesque presence. In this way what has been recognised as an old precedent has been followed and improved on. In other respects and on a higher plane the twentieth century's early years will be looked back upon as themselves furnishing precedents entirely new, as at once a consequence and a cause of the inter-denominational fusion characteristic of the time. Dr. R. W. Dale's work on *The Atonement* has long since become a Church of England Ordination manual.

The development of the sixteenth-century Independents into the Congregationalists of two hundred years later began with the movements of 1831-3, which gave to every Church a complete autonomy. This was, in fact, the extra-Anglican Protestant answer to the challenge discerned in the early Oxford sacerdotalism followed by the revival of Convocation. Bishop Westcott of Durham, who combined high Sacramental doctrines with Evangelical ideas, was a personal friend of R. W. Dale. Westcott lived to see that friendship become the germ of informal but fruitful co-operation of Anglicanism with Congregationalism. Among the neo-Georgian lights of the latter, Dr. J. H. Jowett, by his great work of personal evangelism, his contagious and energising spiritual vitality, above all by what he has written and done in the way of "lives remade," itself a compendium of Christianity, has fulfilled in the eyes and ears of the Old World and the New the promise first given at St. James's Congregational Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne. For on both sides of the Atlantic his congregations were equally impressed by the intensity, almost recalling that of Charles Dickens in his readings, with which Dr. Jowett threw his whole

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being into his words, blended with an incisiveness of diction and thought which not only held every listener but which soon proved a kind of educating influence upon his pulpit colleagues of other denominations. These qualities have also in the same degree distinguished another ornament of Dr. Jowett's communion, Dr. Campbell Morgan, whose discourses, avoiding all adventitious aids to effect, have been from the first remarkable as intellectual efforts whose clear-cut arguments and unfailing verbal consecutiveness of expression in sentence after sentence and paragraph after paragraph are at once a proof of the severe self-training undergone by the preacher, and an education for his hearers. The close connection with another Free Church of the communion adorned by the distinguished men just mentioned is exemplified by the Baptist pastor who began his course at Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool, as assistant to Mr. Augustine Birrell's father, to whose carefully-written and re-written sermons his gifted son has confessed his own literary obligations. Dr. F. B. Meyer's pulpit manner is as tranquil and as restrained as was that of Cardinal Newman, the lucid and rhythmic simplicity of whose English style often reappears in the appeals, as spiritual as were once those of Newman himself, to all that is best and highest in the worshippers beneath the famous roof in Westminster Bridge Road.

"I believe," remarks Lord Fitzbooby in one of Disraeli's early novels, "that these Wesleyans are many of them quite respectable persons." More than one of our latter-day best-known Anglican families have sprung from, or are closely mingled with, a Dissenting stock. Indeed, till quite recently, probably in many cases now, many Wesleyans scarcely consider themselves Dissenters at all. The Wesleyan nexus with the Establishment personifies itself particularly, alike in the pen and pulpit aspect, in the two among Wesley's disciples who conduct the most important Press organs of their connection, Dr. J. Scott Lidgett

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and Mr. J. Telford. In each of these, editorial discrimination and enterprise goes with inspiring gifts of Christian eloquence and an organising energy and skill that, in Dr. Lidgett's case, has distinguished his superintendence of the Bermondsey circuit by the addition of a kindergarten, a cripples' parlour and a temperance public-house to the group of institutions scarcely less numerous than, and as successful as, the visible monuments of C. H. Spurgeon's creative and administrative powers in South London. Professor W. T. Davison's studies in Dante long ago gave him a place near that not only of another Dante scholar, his contemporary, Canon Edmund Moore, but also not far off from that once filled by Dean Church. Presbyterianism finds its most representative and accomplished links with Anglicanism in Dr. Hutton of Glasgow, the combined product of the High School and of the University in the Scotch capital, as well as, in philosophy, classics and general culture, of Lord Kelvin, Edward Caird, Master of Balliol, and Sir R. C. Jebb, the Cambridge Professor of Greek, more variously and consummately versed in the older of the two classical tongues than, perhaps, any other British scholar of his time. These, like the others now mentioned, unite their different religious Communion to the national Church in its highest and noblest aspects, as well as to those Anglo-Saxon Churches beyond seas which invest British Christendom with a humanising and unifying power unique in the history of mankind.

Before leaving this subject a word may be said about two points at which a curious likeness presents itself between our religious experiences after or during the Great War and those belonging to the period of our last European conflict before that in the fifties. The diplomatic negotiations preceding the expedition to the Crimea were marked by a personal appeal to the Czar Nicholas of three peacemakers belonging to the Society of Friends, that even at the eleventh hour he would abstain from plunging the world in war. In

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1914 the great Free Churches showed themselves as patriotic as the most pugnacious of Anglicans. One or two, however, of the more diminutive sects welcomed the Kaiser's violation of the Low Countries as an act of retributive justice for Belgian atrocities on the Congo, with personal good wishes for the mailed fist that wielded "the sword of the Lord." Again, during the late fifties Magdalen College, Oxford, possessed an unusual number of clever boys with good voices who became in due course choral demis and the winners of other foundation prizes. At the present day the Anglo-Catholic recruiting agents are raising up innumerable lads from the lowest stations for improvement at their seminaries into full-blown, sacrificing priests. Further, at the close of the shooting season 1854-6 coverts were unshot for want of guns. In 1921 it is the same story, only the War death-roll has transferred not only coverts but entire estates in default of heirs male to sacerdotally-controlled heiresses.

CHAPTER IV

CONTINUITY IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The royal interest in foreign policy—Ancestral precedents of Lord Bertie and Lord Derby—Diplomatic terms: "Ambassador," "Envoy Plenipotentiary," "Chargé d'Affaires"—Berlin appointments—Lord Kilmarnock—Lord d'Abernon—The Earls of Erroll—The family of Stanley—Comparative unimportance of Anglo-French diplomatic intercourse during the Stuart period—Recommences with establishment of the Hanoverian line—Our eighteenth-century Paris ambassadors and their different residences—The Duke of Wellington installed (1815) in our permanent Embassy—Sir Charles Stuart—Palmerston and Sir Henry Bulwer—The reception by Lord Granville of Sir Walter Scott (1826)—The royal betrothal—Lord Granville's political activities—His successor, Lord Cowley—Lord Lyons becomes French Ambassador (1867)—His career—A Lyons letter—Succeeded by Robert, Earl Lytton—Sir Edmund Monson—Two ambassadresses linking the personal sides of eighteenth and nineteenth-century diplomacy (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Mary Montgomerie Lamb)—Sir James Bland Burges—His Whitehall achievement and literary productions—Introduction of the Foreign Office competitive examination—Sir Henry Austin Lee—His connection with the Consular Service—Sir Julian Pauncefote—Sir Ernest Satow—Sir William White—Improvements in our international service machinery under Sir Austin Lee—The Hammonds—Brilliant personal links connecting different periods of the British foreign service—Philip, Lord Currie—Grenville Murray—Sir Robert Morier—His cosmopolitan diplomatic career—His treatment by the Foreign Office—The relations between Ambassador and home authorities—Sir Edmund Monson's term at Paris—Lord Bryce and his varied achievements—Sir Michael Herbert—Sir C. Spring-Rice—Sir Arthur Hardinge—Sir Rennell

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Rodd—Sir George Buchanan—The progressive continuity of the British international service—How the foreign relations of two centuries are connected—Urquhart's education of the working-classes in European politics during the nineteenth century sets a fashion uniting his period with to-day—Increased knowledge of the English masses in our external relations and in foreign questions—How that knowledge has been exercised.

THE power of making treaties as well as making war and peace vested in the British Crown is exercised through the Foreign Office, and explains the sovereign's traditional interest in State policy beyond seas, and the royal control uniting the chief diplomatic episodes of successive reigns. For Lord Bertie, who settled at 39 Faubourg St. Honoré in the fifth year of Queen Victoria's succession by her eldest son, descended from the Lord Norreys or Norris sent (1572) by Queen Elizabeth as her representative to Henry III of France. In 1581 Norreys went home to mount a higher step in the peerage; he had been relieved of his Paris duties by Sir Francis Walsingham, who, said Francis Bacon, performed a nearly impossible task with a distinction and success that covered him with honour, and shed a lustre upon the profession to which he belonged and the post in which he worked. Thus during nearly three centuries and a half (from Walsingham onwards) the representation of the English Monarchy with the French Government has been distinguished by associations with the highest ability in diplomatic matters forthcoming in this country at the time. Just three hundred and thirty-seven years after the mission with which the Tudor queen entrusted Walsingham, another ancestor of a noble family still flourishing, the seventeenth Earl of Derby, replaced the fifteenth-century Lord Bertie's descendant as the English ruler's agent-messenger at the French capital; for in early modern not less than in mediæval times the British diplomatist on a foreign mission was primarily and above all things the instrument and representative less of his

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country than his Court, a type and a reminder of the time when Anglo-French, like other wars, were not so much conflicts of hostile nations as struggles between individual princes or dynasties.

Russia and Spain have been called the two cradles of European diplomacy: the word "ambassador" has been derived from the Spanish verb *embiar*—to send. That not only explains the first syllable, but also supports the notion that generally throughout Europe "ambassador" in some of its forms meant above all things an emissary despatched from one king or country to another. As time went on the originally almost synonymous words acquired certain technical distinctions. The "envoy" (*envoyé*) and the "legate" both denoted representatives not of the highest dignity, and not entitled to the same precedence and privileges as their betters at the Courts where they were stationed. On the other hand, "ambassador" was the term reserved for the highest class—those having the right of personal access to the supreme ruler of the place where they were accredited.

Next in order of dignity comes the Envoy Plenipotentiary, who, however, can only approach a ruler on special occasions, and that only after often trying formalities, as a matter of favour rather than of right. In China the word we translate "ambassador" means "tribute-bearer." In 1816 Lord Amherst, our representative at the Court of Peking, failed to act on the principle implied in this etymology as well as refused to approach the celestial potentate with the "kotow" (*i. e.*, knocking his forehead thrice on the ground before the throne). His mission therefore met with a failure as complete as had been that of Lord Whitworth to the Tuileries Court of the First Consul thirteen years earlier, when His Britannic Majesty's message made Napoleon I burst out into a fit of abusive rage. The Ambassador's precedence is fixed

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at every Court or Government to which he is accredited, and places him immediately after the ruling family. The Minister Plenipotentiary's rank varies in different Courts; at our own it places him after the dukes and before the marquises. As for the *Chargé d'Affaires*, filling the interval before the Ambassador's appointment, his inferiority to that personage is shown by the fact that his credentials to the foreign Court receiving him are signed not by the sovereign but by the Foreign Minister.

The spring and early summer of 1920 afforded an object-lesson in the procedure wherein the officials just named played their part, and which identifies the international usage of the twentieth century with that of the Middle Ages. The resumption of Anglo-German diplomatic intercourse was first marked by the dispatch in April of Lord Kilmarnock as *Chargé d'Affaires* from London to Berlin and of Dr. Sthamer from Berlin to London. The following June saw Lord d'Abernon, well qualified for the position by his work on more than one boundary commission in south-eastern Europe and his labours on Egyptian finance, established at our Embassy on the Spree with the highly-endowed Lady d'Abernon, formerly Lady Helen Duncombe, for its *châtelaine*. The ceremonial routine in these matters is exactly the same under King George V as it was under James I, who employed on an errand beyond seas Lord Kilmarnock's ancestor, Lord Hay, founder of the ancient Erroll family. Our German representative, however, like our Russian, has only been called Ambassador since the decay of Spain, where during Tudor days the British Embassy had clothed itself with an authority and splendour scarcely short of the distinction afterwards achieved by our Chancery in Paris. It is in the period just mentioned that we first come across names whose sound, rather than the localities they indicate, connects the home of our Ambassadors on the Seine under the

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immediate descendants of Henry VIII with that of their successor to-day. Sir Amyas Paulet, whose mission came between that of Bertie and Walsingham, lived most of his time at the Hôtel de la Tremouille, afterwards de Joyeuse and du Bouchange; not in the modern Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, where Lord Derby resided, but in what was then called that street, though it lay outside the Porte St. Honoré of Charles V, then existing nearly on the ground now covered by the Théâtre Français. Henry VII had rewarded the second Lord Stanley's services at Bosworth by the Derby earldom: his successors sent to the French Court at least one agent of the Stanley name who may thus have known something of the neighbourhood where his present descendant was to live. No later Stanley held any official post at Paris till the seventeenth Lord Derby was installed at our Embassy in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, 1918.

Pope Sixtus V (1521-90) distinguished himself by extraordinary bitterness against the Protestants. These, however, of whatever nationality, had already acquired some of the influence which they were able afterwards to exert upon the conferences for the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The Vicar of Christ, by way of getting the ladies on his side, gave the long-desired title of "Ambadress" to the wives of foreign representatives at the Vatican. The style became universal throughout Europe; at Paris it was first worn by the fifteenth-century Lady Derby, whose successor, the seventeenth countess, after more than three hundred years, but lately adorned it. Our ambassadorial sequences on the Seine in the later Stuart period have little connection, as regards men, methods or aims, with the Tudor policy or agents, and are personified by the diplomatists of the Cabal whom Charles II employed to carry through the Treaty of Dover, 1670. The continuity of political intercourse between the two countries only recommenced on its old lines after

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Queen Anne's death seated the Hanoverian sovereigns on the throne. Under the new dispensation the old names begin to reappear. The earliest Georgian Ambassador to the French Court bears a name already familiar from having been mentioned in more than one connection. This was Sir Hans Stanley, about the precise locality of whose Parisian dwelling nothing is known, but whom the consummate Chatham never allowed to carry through any exceptionally important business without first summoning him to his house, not, as tradition has it, in St. James's Square, but in a much less august quarter, 14 York Place, at the end of Baker Street. This keen, bright, resourceful little diplomatist was followed in 1762 by the ducal head of the great Whig house, John Russell, Duke of Bedford : with him at least the great Pitt condescended to talk on something like terms of equality, which was a great deal more than he had ever done with Sir Hans Stanley, whose suicide in 1780 was partly ascribed to the merciless snubs he received from the "great commoner."

Sir Hans Stanley had gradually become little more than George III's French agent. The Ambassador as a State official really began with those who came afterwards. The succession naturally divides itself into two parts—that preceding and that following the establishment of our Embassy at 39 Faubourg St. Honoré. Subsequently to the Duke of Bedford, the former opens (1763) with Francis Seymour, Earl of Hertford. He was followed by Simon, Earl Harcourt, the earliest whose Paris address is on record, and who most of his time had his Chancery at the Hôtel Grimberghen, Rue St. Dominique, Faubourg St. Germain.

Time has swept away from the Parisian chart in more cases than one not only the streets but the quarters where some of our eighteenth-century noble representatives transacted their business. Most of us

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only know the Rue des Petits Champs from Thackeray's ballad. Still, it was there that Prime Minister Lord North stationed H.B.M. Envoy, Lord Stormont, to moderate, it might be, French sympathies with our revolted American colonists, in the year of the English victory at Bunker's Hill, 1775. In 1792, when the Napoleonic War began, Lord Gower, accredited since 1790 to Louis XVI, was without a house of his own, and improvised a Chancery at the Hôtel Monaco, Rue St. Dominique, afterwards the Austrian Embassy. This was the diplomatist whose title reappears in the Granville line of a later day, and who himself, in process of time, became Duke of Sutherland. The two topographical links between the abodes of our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century representatives are supplied by the Duke of Manchester (1788) and Lord Whitworth (1803), both of whom lived in the Faubourg St. Honoré. On the renewal of diplomatic relations after the war, the Duke of Wellington found his first international workshop in an hotel at the corner of the Place de la Concorde and Rue Boissy d'Anglais. In 1815 he transferred himself and his staff to 39 Faubourg St. Honoré; this, with an adjoining house in the Rue d'Anjou, was bought from the Princess Pauline Borghese for £25,000. Though the great soldier, whose victory again brought into existence our Embassy in Paris, had thus provided it with a habitation, he never permanently settled there; he remained, however, in the French capital till his recall home to become Master-General of the Ordnance (1818). Meanwhile, he had installed as Minister Plenipotentiary, beneath the roof prepared by himself for the purpose, his favourite Waterloo officer, Lord Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan; he in turn gave place to another of the Duke's old military staff, Sir Charles Stuart, who had already served as Envoy Extraordinary in Paris, and who subsequently became Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

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The first quarter of the nineteenth century brought to 39 Rue Faubourg St. Honoré two envoys on special and short-lived sessions: of these the first was Granville Leveson-Gower, Viscount (afterwards Earl) Granville, to congratulate Charles X on succeeding to the ancestral throne. The only other special embassy was occasioned by that monarch's coronation, April 1825, when George IV was represented at the ceremony by Hugh, Duke of Northumberland. From 1839 till 1841 the Embassy connects itself with a phase worth recalling in Palmerston's career. How during those years did that statesman secure the intimate knowledge of European affairs, so useful to himself and so inconvenient to his adversaries? The answer to this question then on every lip was that our Paris Plenipotentiary, then Sir Henry Bulwer, eventually Lord Dalling, a diplomatist exactly after Palmerston's heart, found means of daily supplying his powerful friend with the early and exclusive intelligence that was among the secrets of his power. Fifteen years before Bulwer's time the great house in the Faubourg St. Honoré had linked itself under its Granville occupants with the socio-political life and interests of the Briton abroad. The first Earl Granville had been at many of our Embassies before succeeding Sir Charles Stuart as Ambassador at Paris in 1824; bringing with him as his Ambassadress the wife whom he had married in 1809, Lady Harriet Cavendish, second daughter of William, fifth Duke of Devonshire and his first wife, Lady Georgiana Spencer, the "beautiful Duchess." Under this dispensation the Embassy hospitalities included all that was most distinguished in the genius as well as the rank and fashion not only of the United Kingdom but of Europe. Sir Walter Scott, then on a Continental tour, had scarcely descended at his Paris hotel when he was bidden to choose his own day for dining in the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré. About this time (1826) *Vivian Grey* had just appeared, making

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its author a lion of the season. Disraeli the Younger, as he was then known, was among the older and more famous novelist's fellow-guests, it being, as the future Lord Beaconsfield told a Scottish audience many years later, the earliest, if not the sole occasion, of his meeting "Sir Walter." At the same party Disraeli, perhaps even then meditating the literary success which nearly ten years later was to lay the foundations of his fame, secured a first sitting from its noble original for the portrait of Lord Monmouth in *Coningsby*.

The year now recalled was that in which Granville for a short time resigned his Paris charge; and at the farewell party, called by Lady Granville her "funeral," "I believe," said Yarmouth to Disraeli as they left the drawing-room, "in a 'resurrection.' " So did everybody else. In less than two years its former occupants were back at the Faubourg St. Honoré; and in grace, wit, as well as every accomplishment, the Ambassadors was once more setting an example, their fidelity in following which proved a secret of the uniform success achieved by her successors. "Invitée ou non invitée, enchantée de vous voir," was Lady Granville's gracefully cutting welcome to a perfect stranger who, without being bidden, had made her way into one of those receptions, admission to which was then a coveted distinction.

The incident at our Paris Embassy which chiefly interested the English public during the Granvillian era happened shortly before Queen Victoria's accession. The young sovereign, according to a general impression, might find a husband in her cousin George, afterwards Duke of Cambridge. The truth did not disclose itself till 1836, when Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and his brother were returning to Germany from a matrimonial reconnaissance in England. Passing through Paris, the two princes were entertained by Lord Granville at a dinner planned exclusively in their honour, and

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leaving no doubt in the popular mind as to the hand that the Queen had decided to accept. Just four years later than this the royal marriage (February 10, 1840) had taken place. On the following Midsummer Day (June 24, 1840) the Granvilles celebrated the Queen's birthday by the most magnificent ball which even Paris had seen for some time, attracting as it did from north, south, east and west members not only of our own diplomatic body abroad but of nearly every other European Embassy. A letter now before me and never published, from a lady present on the occasion, describes the decorations of the garden, converted as it was into a temporary room. "If," she adds, "the weather had been a little warmer, the whole affair would have surpassed perfection." The event attracted the more notice because the City of London Common Council marked their dislike of the marriage by refusing an address of loyal congratulation to the throne (so Thomas Raikes, in his Diary, under the date already given). In addition to the foreign duties fulfilled on this grand scale the first Earl Granville always crossed the Channel to support his Whig friends in the Upper House in any diversion on the Grey Reform Bill then going through Parliament. The combined efforts told upon his health; a slight illness followed, but soon passed without leaving any evil trace.

Before the date now reached one notable guest at the Faubourg St. Honoré should not be unmentioned. In 1833 the Grey Government had fallen, and the subsequent interval of uncertainty only ended with Sir Robert Peel's installation in power. The events of the hour connected the Paris Embassy not less closely with the Whigs than with the Peelites. The new Conservative Prime Minister on his way home had stopped in the Faubourg St. Honoré to be coached by Granville on the European situation generally, the present and the future of Belgium in particular. On

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that occasion, too, Peel heard from Granville of the good work formerly done by Sir Robert Adair, son of George III's court surgeon, the British representative at Brussels, and smiled at the single pun laid to the charge of the most famous among his own predecessors at the Treasury. "Does your Adair," someone asked the Minister, "belong to one of your great families?" "His father," came the answer, "was certainly 'un grand seigneur' (seigneur)." The international ties which the Granvilles had created derived fresh strength from the strands added by Lord and Lady Cowley, who came to the Embassy at a most difficult and critical time. The Second Empire had just been established by the *coup d'état* whose bloodshed and infamies had shocked and scandalised the English friends of the old Orleanist monarchy, representing as these did much that was best as well as intellectual and powerful in English society. The change of régime had also brought with it much personal inconvenience and discomfort to the better class of English residents in Paris. The new-made Emperor and his bodyguard of fire-eaters and flunkeys were on the alert to suspect and crush all who looked back with a regretful eye on the old régime.

Under Louis Philippe Paris abounded in clubs of mixed nationality, whose cosmopolitan members freely discussed within their four walls the socio-political transactions and rumours of the hour. This frank intercourse was abruptly ended by the new and universal system of police supervision. Over the chimney-piece of their drawing- and smoking-rooms club-members read the warning words, "Ici on ne parle pas politique." Legitimists, Orleanists, Republicans were among the club-men. These no sooner read the notice than, determining to take their names off the list, they abruptly turned round and left. Lord Cowley, unlike the Foreign Office utility men who had acted as bed-warmers after Lord Granville's final

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recall, cared nothing for party politics, at home or abroad. Whig or Tory, Monarchist or Democrat, he had long since come to the conclusion that everything in this worst of all worlds was going from bad to worse, that something might indeed be done to postpone the coming crash, but that nothing could avert it altogether or even postpone it long. His temper was, indeed, much that of his elder brother, the great Duke of Wellington, in his occasional cynical, pessimistic mood, which afterwards became habitual in the Waterloo hero's son and heir, the second Duke. Lady Cowley was a brighter and more hopeful spirit. She knew no lasting mortification at what seemed her occasional failure to reconcile the mutually embittered factions.

Before the 1848 Revolution, a community of social, literary, intellectual and political tastes had closely knitted together the leisured and privileged classes of England and France. The best houses of London and Paris, in their modes, habits, interests, assimilated themselves so increasingly and intimately to each other that they became parts rather of one and the same social system than representative of two nationalities. Thus unconsciously they took their place among the nineteenth-century forces that prepared the two countries for the Anglo-French agreement that on April 8, 1904, grew out of that *Entente Cordiale* which in 1898 had already advanced some way, thanks chiefly to the popularity of M. Saul Cambon's Embassy at Albert Gate and co-operation with Queen Victoria herself, represented by the Prince of Wales, soon to become Edward VII. Much the same harmony of diplomatic effort and goodwill between the French and English representatives almost half a century earlier had preceded Lord Cowley's establishment in the Faubourg St. Honoré. Before leaving England, he discussed Anglo-French politics with the French representative at Albert Gate. The two diplomatists

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found themselves in perfect accord as regards the diplomatic prospect. The two dangers of international friction arose in the first case from the third Napoleon's habit of secret intrigue with Austria and Prussia while ostensibly dealing with England alone. The second peril showed itself in the attacks of the English Press on the person and character of the new French Emperor.

The influence and the traditions established by the occupants of the embassy in the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré during the early 'fifties not only resulted in unbroken harmony with French feeling, but won for the roof from beneath which they were forthcoming the reputation of an ambassadorial model and school for our entire foreign service. Thus, on April 10, 1852, the then head of the Foreign Office in Whitehall, the third Earl of Malmesbury, writing to our Vienna Ambassador, Lord Westmoreland, protests against the little vexations and discomforts inflicted on the department at home by Austria and the petty nationalities under her influence. "In France," he adds, "John Bull is seen in all his varieties, and some of my countrymen there are eccentric fellows. Yet no dispute ever occurs. Why should not that be the case also at Vienna?"

Thus throughout the centuries separating the Tudor times from our own, the British Embassy in Paris has been blessed by a series of occupants whose unfailing sagacity, tact and temper have made it, in expert opinion, a model and a training-school for our entire Foreign Service. In 1867 the succession was continued by the great Ambassador who, though a sailor's son, was trained from early youth in our international service. Admiral the first Lord Lyons reaped the reward of varied and eminent naval services in elevation to the peerage as baron, 1856. That honour would have been abundantly earned by his eminent services during the Crimean War alone. Long before

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that he had begun to intersperse his seamanship with diplomacy; simultaneously, or in quick succession, he thus blended the experience of two great careers. Before becoming Minister at Berne (1849-51) he had been our Plenipotentiary with the Greek Government, then (1835) vested in King Otho of Bavaria. By that time he had associated his high office with the name of the son who was afterwards to confer distinction upon our Paris Embassy. Richard Bickerton, from 1858 second Lord Lyons, began his diplomatic course as one of his father's attachés (1839). He therefore witnessed all the dramatic transformation-scenes of that stirring period. There could be and was no other end till a foreign monarchy made way for a national constitution (1843). The Greek capital during the whole Otho period had been the hotbed not more of civil dissension than of native and foreign intrigue. From his post behind the scenes the rising young diplomatist gained an experience of political life and character as well as learned lessons in constructive statesmanship of a value scarcely to be exaggerated in the diversified and distinguished future awaiting him. Only twelve months before his apprenticeship to the real business of his life began, he had been his father's midshipman. Afloat, therefore, as well as on land, he had opportunities such as fall to the lot of few of watching history in its making, and the principles underlying the management of men and their practical application.

From 1864 till 1871 Papal Italy had its capital at Florence. In 1856, the year of his father's ennoblement, the future and second Lord Lyons left his Athens employment to become secretary first to our Florence mission, and two years later its head. In 1858 a larger and more important opportunity opened to him by his advance to the British representation at Washington. The Declaration of Paris, 1856, the blockade of Confederate ports, the Anglo-American anti-slave-

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trade treaty (April 1862), and the Alabama difficulty from its beginning as well as through its later developments, were among the matters connecting Lord Lyons during his Washington ministry with historic events and their makers, both at an earlier and later date than his own.

It is no part, however, of the present purpose to dwell on the details of this great, varied, eventful and serviceable career, but rather to show the personal incidents and traits illustrating its continuity with the general line of British diplomacy, as well as the inheritance by the man himself of those intellectual qualities and temper recalling throughout the Victorian age the gifts and methods of that diplomacy when George Canning was its responsible exponent, with his friend Hookham Frere for Under-Secretary. In the May of 1883, during Granville's third term at the Foreign Office, Lord Houghton was in daily communication with the English Roman Catholics, with the Vatican itself as well as with Lord Lyons, since 1867 our French Ambassador. The chief subject discussed, a British Embassy to the Pope, inspired Lyons with one of the happy phrases which he sometimes flashed out. After quoting Melbourne's words, "We Whigs have made two great mistakes in underrating the Church of England and the Pope," he went on to say, "It is so difficult to deal diplomatically with the Holy Spirit." "Could it," asked Houghton, "have been more neatly put by Canning himself?" As our representative at the Porte (1865-7) Lyons perpetuated the strongest traditions of Canning's cousin, the "great Eltchi."

On his occasional visits home Lord Lyons, after the unvarying stay with the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel, made a round of country-house visits. During one of these I met him for the last time, at Blenheim, in 1885. He was then much amused with some verses about the O'Gorman Mahon, whom he had been

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entertained by recently meeting. One or two lines may be recalled :—

“ When he rises, the House
Is as mute as a mouse :
They know he's no foolish rampager.
But soon the ‘ Hear, hears,’
And the thundering cheers,
Are brought out by the speech of the Major.
Be it early or late,
The members will wait,
To hear the broadside from the Major.”

“ You know, perhaps,” I said to the Ambassador, “ Canning's verse despatched, by Frere's pen, to Minto.” Lord Lyons thought he had read it, but was sure he had forgotten it, and would like it recalled. At the same time, would I send him some lines from Mortimer Collins's burlesque, “ The British Birds,” especially the passage containing :—

“ There was an ape in the days that were earlier.
Centuries passed, and his hair became curlier.
Centuries more gave a thumb to his wrist;
Then he was man, and a Positivist.”

Some days afterwards, at another country-house, I happened to meet Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, an old Winchester acquaintance of my relatives. His interest in Wykehamist personages, things, and in *belles lettres* generally, led me into some mention of what had diverted Lord Lyons at Blenheim. “ That,” said Lord Sherbrooke, “ cannot be so. Lord Lyons always avoids general society, has no literary tastes whatever, would not have allowed you to quote as Canning's the rhyme-despatch, which Canning never wrote, or have tolerated the doggerel you recited from a modern writer whom nobody ever heard.” Meanwhile, I had copied out from memory the Minto despatch and the extract from “ The British Birds ” which the Ambassador desired to have. He acknowledged both by return of post in the following letter :—

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"DEAR MR. ESCOTT,

"I thank you heartily for so kindly recollecting my wish to see Canning's despatch in verse to Lord Minto, and the lines about the ape whose hairs became curlier. I shall claim your promise to let me know all about that writer when you come to Paris, and I look forward with much pleasure to seeing you here."

Elsewhere in that same letter Lord Lyons again dwelt on his interest in subjects of this sort, in the words: "I have a liking for the somewhat formal pleasantries of the Canning and Hookham Frere period." Incidentally the Lyons letter cancels another of Lord Sherbrooke's objections to my unfortunate little remark. February 5, 1886, is the date borne by this letter. My meeting with him at Blenheim had been in the July or August of 1885. His letter to me from the Paris Embassy, written immediately upon his return to it some six months afterwards, shows that all those weeks of his English stay had been passed in the social manner called by Lord Sherbrooke inconsistent with the Ambassador's well-known habits and tastes. These, as described in his own words just given, were the one link, except that of time, connecting him with his successor, the second Lord and the first Earl Lytton, who, however, if he ever amused himself by perpetrating squibs in the eighteenth-century vein, never troubled to let them see the light. In pure *belles lettres* he added to the paternal gifts a lightness of touch and, above all things, the power of conveying exactly the local colour wanted by the subject altogether his own. As Viceroy of India he at least fulfilled the ideas, either gathered from the study of his greatest predecessors in an earlier period, especially Lord Dalhousie, or impressed on him by the genius of Disraeli and its inspiring effects. No three persons each playing a part in the same great transaction were ever thrilled by a common sense of more triumphant delight

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than when (1877) Earl Lytton as Viceroy made the congenial announcement that the words "Empress of India" had been added to the title of the English Queen. Lytton's fine intellect and social brilliance combined themselves with a diplomatic experience more variously cosmopolitan than his predecessor had brought to the same position twenty years before. Like Lyons before him, however, he had been thoroughly grounded in the diplomatic rudiments under our representative at Florence (1852), afterwards at more important capitals—St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Vienna, Belgrade and Athens; while at the outset of his course, at Washington under his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer, the strongest and not the most scrupulous diplomatist of the day, he had been taught lessons in social as well as political human nature which even brains less receptive and of less hair-spring activity than his own would have transformed into a little diplomatic capital.

Lord Lyons promoted the business of his office by well-planned dinner-parties. The hospitable tradition was continued and adorned by his successor, who, with his rarely-gifted Ambassadors, one of the three Clarendon Villiers sisters, are affectionately remembered as "the dear and delightful Lyttons." Paris, indeed the entire diplomatic circle of Europe, had seen in Lyons the typical Briton. In Lytton it was interested and charmed by a diplomatist whom, from accomplishments and tastes, it might have taken for one of its own sons, not only a good talker, but possessing the happy art of securing the best talk of which they were capable from others. What did he think of his native Parliament after its many recent transformations? He was often bored with the question; once he was stung into answering, "I do not know which of the two assemblies is the worst. The Lords are as unreal as a dream. In the Commons it is one vast display of power wasted and passion misapplied."

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The polished and genial urbanity, the stately and winning presence and the exquisite conversational humour of Lytton's Paris successor worthily link Lord Dufferin's term (1891-6) at 39 Rue Faubourg St. Honoré with the sparkling period which had preceded it. Its characteristics did not reappear in the mainly twentieth-century ambassadorships that have followed, Sir Edmund Monson's and Lord Bertie's purely official epochs, or, afterwards, the typically patrician ménage of Lord Derby, beginning in 1918.

In the Near East the later Victorian years took to our Constantinople Embassy a feminine presence to some extent recalling that of the historic Ambassadors who graced it under George I (1716-18). More than a century and three-quarters afterwards the same position was filled by the lady who adorned it with gifts of mind and person quite as distinguished as those which had shed such lustre on our Stamboul representation at the earlier date. Lady Currie, once Mrs. Singleton, the "Violet Fane" of literature, united in herself nearly all Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's claims to distinction, except the connection of her name with a great medical discovery like the inoculation which her predecessor introduced to England. The wife of our Envoy to the Sultan when George I was king, before going with her husband to the Near East, had done the honours of her ducal father's house and had won admiration from the most distinguished men of the day. Her successor in the Victorian age had also made many of the same experiences her own. Mary Montgomerie Lamb, the Earl of Eglinton's grand-daughter, had been from her earliest years the companion and confidante of her father, a man of original intellect who gathered about him the best intellectual society of the time at his house, Beauport, Battle. Either here or on her frequent visits to her relatives, Lord and Lady Rendlesham, she had heard the best and freest talk of

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George Borrow (*The Bible in Spain, Romany Rye*); Tennyson's "old Fitz," Edward Fitzgerald; "Eothen" Kinglake; and Abraham Hayward. Experience, therefore, had linked her with all that was best, brightest and most thoughtful in the table-talk of two generations. Her recollections of all this appear in the novel *Sophy: or the Adventures of a Savage*, that showed a literary power and freshness already foreshadowed in *Anthony Babington* and other of her verses. She had, too, something of an ancestral connection with that department of State one of whose most capable officials, eventually our Constantinople and Paris Ambassador, became her husband in 1894. For between 1795 and 1820 one of the most famous among Foreign Office Under-Secretaries, Sir Bland Burges, by a change of surname, took his place among the Lamb baronets and so became one of her father's forerunners in the Lamb baronetcy, whose twentieth-century representative is Lady Currie's brother, Sir Archibald Lamb. Her husband, the Ambassador, previously so consummately useful a public servant under many Foreign Office dispensations, was the son of a marriage contracted by Raikes Currie, the banker, with Laura Wodehouse, the first Lord Kimberley's aunt. Nothing could have worked better in its results than this City blend with a noble, eastern county stock. Philip Currie, it may be incidentally remarked, was never, as sometimes said or thought, a partner in Messrs. Currie's Bank, known since 1864 as Glyn, Mills, Currie and Co. His first-rate brains fitted him, however, for success in any kind of business, as at Eton they made him captain of his house, Mr. Pickering's, and secured him the Prince Consort's prize for French. He developed into a sound judge of literature and art, always keenly interested in the literary traditions of his department and often the cause of much good writing by the political critics and commentators of the Press. He

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had, therefore, turned his intellectual tastes to more useful account than was done by that earlier Foreign Office Under-Secretary, Sir Bland Burges, whose descendant he married. As for the ancestor whose career so signally connects the new Foreign Office era with the old, it must be said that official industry was his forte and the author's pen his foible. His immense and successful labour in reducing to order the Whitehall chaos of documents and clerkships was relieved by the distraction of portentous literary trifles in the shape of epics which were not read, and dramas never put upon the stage. In 1814 his sister-in-law, Lady Milbanke, had no sooner told him of her daughter's forthcoming marriage to Lord Byron, then on the Drury Lane committee of management, than he assailed the poet for a good word with his colleagues for a play whose title, generations afterwards, suggested to Mrs. Singleton a name for her already-mentioned romance. Apropos of this application, Byron told Burges, "I did my best to move them (his fellow committee-men); but they would not." Meanwhile the public service had no busier, better or more powerful official than this unsuccessful author. He not only gave his Whitehall staff no repose till all the contents of the office had been put in order; he used an acquaintance with the City as influential as he had with Pall Mall to help Pitt in floating his loans for the Napoleonic War and in the financial currents generated by it. In all war matters the Prime Minister dealt with Bland Burges directly, over the head of his Foreign Minister, the Duke of Leeds.

Elsewhere (*British Diplomacy: its Makers and Movements*, p. 181) the present writer was enabled, from entirely unpublished sources, to mention the banks and other capitalists whom, on no avowedly official mission, but as private acquaintances, Bland Burges successfully approached and so enabled the Prime Minister to negotiate his war loans. The relations thus established

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between high politics and high finance continued to Disraelian times, when (1874) the late Frederick Greenwood of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and his City friend, Mr. Oppenheim, between them took the initiative that led to unofficial transactions with New Court, without which at the necessary short notice the funds for the Suez Canal purchase could not have been forthcoming. Individual effort on the grand scale first became an agency of Foreign Office reconstruction and administration with Bland Burges towards the eighteenth century's close. From that time to the present the personal factor has been in serviceable evidence, connecting by the mark they have left at Whitehall successive Under-Secretaries of State, from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hammonds to the Lord Hardinge of Penshurst to-day. Something of its traditional exclusiveness is reserved to the Foreign Office by the fact that the Foreign Secretary still nominates all candidates for it. The competitive examination secures the pick of the best schools and the Universities; the idea of an examination, which might, though not necessarily, be also a competitive test for the Foreign Office, had occurred to Bland Burges under George III. It was never applied till 1857, two years after the appointment of the Civil Service Commission. A decade or so later it introduced to Whitehall an official destined to mark in the department now being considered a reconstructive period only less noticeable than that inaugurated by Burges himself. Henry Austin Lee, a Ceylon civilian's son, on graduating from Pembroke College, Oxford, had become bear-leader to a youth of quality whom, with a cleverness presaging his diplomatic aptitude, he extricated from the toils of an adventuress. A ducal relative of the delivered scapegrace expressed the family gratitude by securing him the Foreign Secretary's nomination. Even in 1870, when Lee's work began, Foreign Office clerks were popularly classed in the same decorative category as Guardsmen,

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—the mere ornaments or detrimentals of Belgravia or Mayfair. Lee, if not actually the first, was among the earliest, as well the most capable and enterprising, of the nineteenth-century school, able, waiting to train himself in all the details connected with intercourse of every kind with our nearest foreign neighbours.

His first Foreign Office masters were Lords Clarendon and Granville; both of them were surprised at the quickness with which the new-comer not only settled down to his work but suggested what he thought might be improvements in the daily routine. The explanation was his previous apprenticeship to the political and commercial business connected with Red Cross work during the Franco-Prussian War. These extremely practical experiences had given him much to do with the Consular Service, had impressed him with a high opinion of its first-rate personnel and its resources as a recruiting ground for diplomacy. These views found their earliest justification in Lord Granville's endorsement of them by selecting (1882) a member of the Colonial Civil Service, by profession a lawyer, Sir Julian Pauncefote, for the Foreign Under-Secretaryship, vacant by Lord Tenterden's death. In 1900 came Sir Ernest Satow's promotion from mixed international duties at Tokio to be minister at Peking. More memorable, because more brilliantly successful, than any of these elevations was the appointment of ex-Consul Sir William White as Ambassador (1884) at Constantinople.

The link between the home and foreign branches of our international service, securing transfer from the one to the other, remains a monument to the practical interest in international matters of two shrewd and highly-cultivated citizens of the world, Lord Houghton and Sir Charles Dilke. After twenty years of Whitehall work, periodically broken by missions with Under-Secretary Sir Charles Dilke to the other side of the Channel, Austin Lee was permanently

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moved to Paris (1892), with results signally attesting the wisdom of the reform just mentioned. One of these diplomatic errands (October 1881) connects Lee with the first appearance in a French diplomatic rôle of the future King Edward VII. When Prince of Wales he had long wished to meet Gambetta; Austin Lee's tact removed the various difficulties in the way, and gathered the heir-apparent and the French tribune, together with Dilke and Lee himself, at the breakfast-table of the Moulin Rouge (October 30). Lee had thus become a familiar figure in social and political Paris long before his final settlement in the Faubourg St. Honoré; growing in acceptableness with French natives and English residents, he continued work at the Embassy till his death in 1918. The Suez Canal Board, the Channel Tunnel Commission, the British Charitable Fund and the Hertford Hospital were only some among the national or international movements in which Lee, amid all his Embassy work, found time and energy to co-operate with extra-official agents in the international Entente like Sir John Pilter and Sir Thomas Barclay, the life and soul of the Franco-Scottish Society. Improvements in the machinery of the international service have come in the first instance not from Secretaries of State at home, or Ambassadors abroad, but, as in the case of Bland Burges and, as will presently be seen, in that of one almost his contemporary and colleague, the first of the two Hammonds, George, from State subordinates. Lee's adjustment of routine, conception of duty and scope, to the conditions of the time in our most important European chancery were conceived and executed in the same spirit of thoroughness as in an earlier century the office in Whitehall had been converted by Burges into an orderly headquarters of well-planned and well-executed Imperial industry. Between 1897 and 1900 the Anglo-French differences arising out of the Niger Company were settled less by our diplomats than our

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Consuls, and in that fact the Government at last recognised a conclusive argument for reconstructing, as Lee had long urged, the relations of the Foreign Office in its consular and commercial departments to the Board of Trade. No Foreign Office name unites so many Whitehall periods as Hammond. The first permanent Under-Secretary of that family belongs to the eighteenth century. His son became in due course the first great departmental organiser and trainer in the Victorian age of men whose strong personality recalls their great exemplars, and whose labours live in their successors. This excellent public servant, however, had one failing—he tried to do all the work of the department himself, and occupied his clerks as simple copyists. The shortage of well-trained clerks which inevitably followed had not entirely been made good by Hammond's singularly able successor, Lord Tenterden, before that Under-Secretary's death created the vacancy which brought in for a time the already-mentioned Sir Julian Pauncefote.

Meanwhile, a series of exceptionally gifted and distinguished officials had perpetuated the literary and intellectual traditions linking our international service of the day before yesterday, yesterday, and to-day with the bright periods that were its characteristic boast and pride in an earlier generation. In Whitehall Philip Currie, by his instructive and uniformly judicious intercourse with writers for the public Press, appreciably raised the standard of newspaper comment and criticism on foreign affairs. The most brilliant and unscrupulous free-lance ever in modern times connected with the Foreign Office, Grenville Murray, on whose course it is unnecessary to dwell, was writing for Dickens' *All the Year Round* first, for other prints equally respectable afterwards, and therefore not those conducted by himself—specimens still readable of pure, simple and vivid English. Nearly, if not quite, the earliest among the Balliol lights was toiling and flashing

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at his desk in the Education Office by way of preparation for transfer to a more notable career elsewhere. Benjamin Jowett, long before becoming Master in 1870, had begun, while only tutor, to fulfil his life's dream of connecting his college by a series of personal links with the government of the Empire. The earliest pupil signally qualified for being trained to that end will always have a place among the great ambassadors of the Victorian era, and united his own diplomatic period with the classic days of Canning in the person of that statesman's terrific cousin. "The Turk," observed Lord Granville (August 1884), "has behaved so badly that it would pay him out to send him Morier," who was said to model his diplomatic manner on that of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Vol. II. 364). "The great Eltchi," in fact, had been the most intimate friend of Morier's father, himself one amongst the most variously experienced and *rusé* members of our international service in the nineteenth century's first half.

The son now spoken of, Robert Morier, was born in Paris 1826, and nurtured among cosmopolitan associations, as suited from the paternal point of view a boy intended and brought up to be an ambassador. The opening stage in the advance to that goal was that of attaché at Vienna (1853). Then followed more than two decades of movement to and fro between the chief political centres of Germany, the best possible preparation for the missions of his manhood in the Near East. His ambassadorial period began in the autumn of 1865 with the secretaryship of the Athens Legation. The same year took him as secretary to Frankfort-on-Main, then the seat of the German Diet, before Berlin had grown into the Imperial capital. As our representative at Lisbon (1876) he found himself for the first time his own master. Here, as afterwards at Madrid (1881), he was recognised as the strongest man in our

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Foreign service since the Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had patted him on the head when a child, and in nothing inferior to any of those more nearly his contemporaries, Lord Odo Russell or Lord Lyons himself. "The only man who in his despatches ever swore at the Foreign Office" was one of the memories Morier left behind him at Whitehall. The sixth Viscount Strangford early in the nineteenth century had bequeathed something of a literary tradition to the Lisbon Embassy by his translation of Camoens. Would not, he was once asked, Sir Robert Morier follow that example? The reply, it is reported, was another specimen of the language the Ambassador sometimes applied to Whitehall. The truth is, throughout all his trying and difficult Anglo-Portuguese negotiations, Morier looked in vain for any word of guidance or encouragement to the home authorities. That neglect did not improve a naturally choleric temper. Morier's experience was not singular. "How," repeatedly and despairingly asked the most useful Ambassador of his time, Sir William White, "is it possible for men, kept in the dark and ignored as we are, ever to become profitable servants?"

The chief bugbear of our diplomats in the nineteenth, as in the preceding century, was, however, what their apologist, Sir Mountstuart E. Grant-Duff, called "that strange wild beast, the House of Commons." In Morier's time, as in Castlereagh's, our representatives abroad felt themselves handicapped by having to say in their despatches as little as possible that the exigencies of party at home would make it inconvenient for Parliament to discuss or read. On the other hand, it must be remembered, successive diplomatic generations have been united by a continuity in grievance of some kind or another. First in early Georgian days ambassadors with their staffs suffered much from the precarious and sometimes only partial payment of their salaries. All that has, of course, long since been

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changed, together with the quality and accomplishments of ambassadors and attachés. Our Embassies in the present are linked by their hospitalities with the past. To an extent never known before business interests are represented among their foreign as well as English guests. The twentieth century has brought in a new ambassadorial type, first personified in the above-mentioned successor to Lord Dufferin at Paris. Sir Edmund Monson, as our representative on the Seine (1896-1905), brought with him powers which long before had made Lord Cowley consider him "by far the best of the younger men whom he had seen in the Service." An Oxford First Class man, he would have left behind him in the Faubourg St. Honoré an impression of commanding ability but for a little speech not quite suited to the diplomatic needs of a time marked by a good deal of Anglo-French tension.

No incident of that sort marked during the same twentieth-century period the singularly successful Washington mission of a more famous academic light than Sir Edmund Monson. Lord Bryce's intellectual power, distinction in history, literature and scholarship not only went together with a more cultivated cosmopolitanism than had ever yet been seen at our Washington Embassy, but were regarded by the Americans as in some sort a compliment to themselves. His diplomatic aptitudes were not below his literary distinction and universal knowledge; and in combination with these great gifts a transparent genuineness of character, an urbane simplicity of manner and life, not only strengthened existing ties, but added links entirely new to those already connecting the two great families of the Anglo-Saxon race. Lord Bryce is not, as has been said, the earliest instance of an ambassador created from outside the Service because of personal antecedents signally qualifying him for the post. The first Marquis of Dufferin reached the Paris Embassy without any professional, diplomatic

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or Foreign Office training, but having learned the later business of his life between 1860 and 1878, when pacifying Syria, ruling and to a great extent creating Canada, cemented all with whom he had to do in admiring attachment to himself and in closer allegiance to the British rule.

Meanwhile the bonds of American-European friendship had been increased and strengthened, first by the appointment of an English naval attaché at Washington soon after the struggle between North and South; secondly, in 1882, by a representative in the United States of the maritime powers generally on the other side of the Atlantic. Somewhat later there came the commercial attachés: of these one to-day is appropriated to the American and five to the European continent. The real international mediator is, after all, the individual; and of emissaries from the Old World to the New good work on something like Lord Bryce's lines was done by two other among our diplomats. Sir Michael Herbert made himself such a favourite at Washington that President Roosevelt unconsciously fell into the habit of greeting him by his pet name in the Service, "Mungo." At Washington, too, Cecil Spring-Rice cultivated the literary gifts generally appreciated in American drawing-rooms and associating him with the intellectual position established at our Foreign Office in the eighteenth century, brilliantly illustrated in the twentieth by Sir Rennell Rodd, till 1919 our Ambassador at Rome, as well as by another, an equally accomplished and able survivor of the Balliol group, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who, starting from Whitehall and travelling by the Consular track in Africa, till 1919 represented his sovereign at Madrid; while Sir Rennell Rodd's successor at the Quirinal, Sir George Buchanan, links his branch of our international service with the school of strong ambassadors that has always been its boast. These developments belong to that era which has seen all

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branches of the diplomatic calling brought within the reach of qualified aspirants since the three-hundred-a-year property qualification was removed.

Continuity is a characteristic displayed by most of our institutions in their social and personal aspects. On the whole it has maintained itself in everything to do with our international machinery at home and abroad. At no point has the new broken with the old. Rather has the new adapted itself to and assimilated itself with the old. Not only as regards social quality and personal antecedents do the twentieth-century officials lack nothing worth preserving in their predecessors, but the work of departmental reconstruction, when necessary, never for a moment lags. The purely business and commercial aspects of our foreign service have been dwelt upon already. At the end of 1917, when Austin Lee was still at work, he had the satisfaction of witnessing a reform for which he had laboured. This showed itself in the novelty then arranged, now styled the Department of Overseas Trade Development and Intelligence, under the joint control of the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade.

The objects and methods of British diplomacy have been on the whole as unbrokenly uniform as the agencies employed. Under successive dynasties and their various statesmen, from the Plantagenet through the Tudor to the modern period, the pervading idea was for this country to establish and hold a balance of power in Europe. Continental ambitions, particularly French and Spanish, till the close of the Middle Ages periodically threatened this equilibrium. To England from 1066 to 1466 the chief danger came from the possibility of Franco-Scottish union. After that the union of Spain with France was regarded as the chief English peril; in 1739 the balance was upset; the English Government reluctantly entered into war against Spain, supported somewhat tepidly by France. Just

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a quarter of a century afterwards (1763) the conflict was closed by the Peace of Paris; but our statesmanship abroad aimed at preventing further Franco-Spanish co-operation. Then for some time Austrian and Prussian rivalry formed the great European storm-centre. English influence exerted itself to compose the disturbance by its alternate dealings with the two parties. Our efforts to preserve the equilibrium proved successful till the French Revolution was followed by the world-wide tempest which, with some short intervals, raged till the Napoleonic map of Europe was reconstructed by the sovereigns and statesmen assembled or represented at Vienna (1814). On that occasion the general principles laid down at Utrecht just a hundred years earlier were again enunciated, and the plenipotentiaries once more weighed Court against Court and one Government against another. Castlereagh, as British representative, was alone prevented from giving exclusive regard to imperial or royal wishes by the consciousness of the intermeddling and supervising authority of the House of Commons; he did his utmost to throw dust in its eyes, as well as afterwards to support at Laybach and Troppau the imperial autocrats of Europe, his personal friends, in their policy of exerting military strength to put down the rising national spirit, at Naples first, and in Spain afterwards. In 1822 his succession at the Foreign Office by Canning transformed alike in its general character, its principles as well as its details, the foreign policy of this country, and destroyed at the Verona Congress of 1821 the Absolutist instrument for coercing the European nationalities which Castlereagh had encouraged the Russian and Austrian Emperors to create. After Waterloo and the Vienna Congress (1814) the balance of power lost its place in the British international programme, and found its substitute in "non-intervention," which latter word, however, calls for some explanatory remarks,

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The Vienna Congress lasted more than a year, into the latter part of 1815. Its chief animating and directing spirit was Talleyrand; it was resumed at Verona six years afterwards, when Canning, represented by the Duke of Wellington, refused to repress or to interfere in the national movement for freedom in Spain or Greece. Henceforth "non-intervention" was to be the watchword of European policy. "What," some years later asked Lord Albany of Talleyrand, "do you mean by that?" the reply being, "C'est un mot métaphysique et politique, qui signifie à peu près la même chose qu'intervention." So it proved at the time, and so occasionally it has been ever since. Talleyrand's witticism and what passed for the execution of the Vienna decisions were followed by the support given by England to the Netherlands, who objected to incorporation with Holland, and by the creation of the kingdom of Belgium, largely on the initiative of Palmerston, who subsequently showed his zeal for every form of national independence by encouraging the Italian movement against Austrian rule as well as the Constitutionals of Portugal and Spain against Legitimist and arbitrary rule. The nominal "non-intervention" period was marked by a different motive and character from the autocratic régime which preceded it, but the Quadruple Alliance (1834), securing the evacuation of Spanish territory by Don Carlos, and the Palmerstonian backing of European Liberalism elsewhere, were as much specific acts of intervention as those proposed by or for autocratic Imperialism in 1821; while in 1835 Palmerston promoted Peninsular national liberalism by suspending the Foreign Enlistment Act and encouraging a British Legion for Spain, under Colonel de Lacy Evans, to maintain Queen Isabella on the throne and to drive Don Carlos from the country. All this, it must be remembered, took place after the relations of this country with its foreign neighbours were professedly

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those of non-intervention. Neither the money cost nor the military and political risk of an occasional departure from that policy provoked any protest from the ten-pounders who before the establishment of household suffrage ruled the country. That dispensation Palmerston never lived to see. He was, however, twenty-eight years after the date just mentioned, to have a foretaste of the national objection to British adventures beyond seas, presaging so closely as it did in 1863 the outburst of popular and especially industrial feeling provoked while these lines are being written by a policy which, on the chance of saving Poland, would involve us in a war of incalculable consequences with revolutionary Russia. Almost exactly seven years more than half a century ago the Palmerstonian idea of preventing at any cost the Prussian procedure of dismembering Denmark by the Schleswig-Holstein annexation approximately presaged the enthusiasm that in the August of 1920 expressed itself in the project of preserving Polish integrity, at a price that the English masses refused seriously to contemplate. Had Palmerston been allowed his way, the Prussian scheme of the Kiel Canal would have been checkmated, and there would have been no world war of 1914. The typical Victorian statesman had no sooner seemed to commit himself to the defence of Denmark than the ministerial whips and his friend, as well as oracle, Delane of *The Times*, told him that only an immediate change of front would prevent his being out in a week. A day or two afterwards he went down to the House and announced the right-about-face that surrendered the Duchies and Denmark but saved his own Government by averting European war. Under the last sailor-king before his present Majesty, excesses of militant patriotism were readily forgiven to a Premier like Palmerston so long as he actually set no army in the field. In the twentieth century the nation is more cautious. The

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entire Trades Unionist and industrial interests, after much reading and talking about the subject, combine to extort a ministerial assurance not only that there will be no war without consulting Parliament, but no danger of committal to hostilities in the near future.

The education of the multitude in external statesmanship was begun even in Palmerston's time by one of his most certain critics. To-day David Urquhart's best-known memorial is the Jermyn Street Turkish bath containing his bust. His name and work, however, take one back to the days when the greatest European war which had engaged this country in the nineteenth century first brought home to the English people a sense of their ignorance on affairs happening beyond the Dover Straits. The chief Press then, if it existed at all, was only in its naturally not very instructive infancy. Till his death in 1877 Urquhart never desisted from his efforts to make good those defects in newspaper information about foreign affairs which are at least as seriously felt to-day as they were throughout the Victorian age. Now, as then, the evil is not so much want of useful knowledge in the journalistic supply, but of continuity in the provision made. A sudden convulsion in important states shakes the world to its foundations, and a prolonged period of universal crisis follows. Newspaper correspondents are at once on the fateful spot. Their vivid reports and their interviews with the statesmen who make history send up the circulation of their respective broadsheets to fabulous figures. The time of trial, suspense or danger passes, the correspondents reappear in their Fleet Street haunts and write quarterly articles or books illustrating the opportunities they have enjoyed and the celebrities they have interviewed behind the diplomatic or military scenes. But the Great War and all that has happened since have brought with them the disagreeable discovery that as regards

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the popular understanding of international questions our position at the present day too closely resembles what it was at and after the Paris Conference of 1856, or the Treaty of Frankfort that closed the Franco-German War in 1871. Now, as then, the great fault of British diplomacy is shown to be its failure to take long views, while the chief popular need is an absolutely impartial journal devoted to foreign affairs, which should treat the international incidents and issues of the time with something like the minute accuracy of detail shown by the scientific historian Gardiner in handling English details under Charles I and Cromwell, or by Mr. J. F. Rhodes when tracing the course of United States slavery from 1820 to 1865. The possibility of such a publication finds a proof in what from time to time is written about international incidents and tendencies by Sir Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Valentine Chirol or, too seldom, by Lord Bryce. These recall, not by any of their views, but by their strength of conviction, Urquhart at his best. So President Wilson's League of Nations is, in the dialect of live-stock breeders, a "throw-back" to a suggestion which, before he had taken up the Holy Alliance, the Czar Alexander urged in several letters to Pitt. It had previously found a seventeenth-century advocate in the Duc de Sully, whose grouping of Europe included a sort of Amphictyonic Council for the bloodless settlement of international disputes; it was revived during the Victorian age by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury, in frequent conversations as well as in many letters with Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff, and it was regarded by the third Marquess of Salisbury as the one means for keeping the peace of Europe.

The first quarter of the twentieth century, therefore, will be remembered as including the date at which, for Europe, the "Parliament of man, the federation of the world," came into existence. It has encountered a formidable rivalry in the nomadic conferences of the

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British First Lord of the Treasury with his brother Premiers and their colleagues from other parts, and it has not yet equipped itself with the authority for overruling the independent projects or the mutual jealousies of nationalities and states. It has, however, already given effect to one of the chief among President Wilson's Fourteen Points—that summed up in the words "no secret diplomacy." Franco-Britannico-Syrian relations, Russo-Polish wars or treaties and the various attitudes of individual politicians, English or foreign—all these have been the subject of daily newspaper articles or of incessant popular small talk. "Secret treaties," it has been already seen, are so difficult in present conditions as often to be practically impossible. The company directors whose shareholders meet at the Cannon Street Hotel might resign their positions if they were asked to not only declare but divulge at each stage of its progress the policy in some great transaction they were endeavouring to carry through. The general body of investors have an allowed right to approve or condemn the general line taken by the Board, to be fully informed from time to time concerning its methods, aims and resources, and not to be committed without due consultation or due departure. A similar claim will not be denied now or hereafter to the tax-payers who make or unmake Parliaments and Ministers, and whose opinion on international subjects has proved before now even more sound and sagacious than that of the experts. As regards the American War of Secession, now sixty years since, the sympathy of the masses with the North had little to lose from its comparison with the enthusiasm of the classes for the slave-owning states. In 1876-8 the polite world's preference for the "gentleman-like Turk" over his non-Mussulman victims has not been shown by subsequent experience to have as much to recommend it as the resolution of the industrial orders that military

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partisanship of the Sultan should not again be allowed. Similar divisions of British opinion were brought out into relief by the Afghan War of 1879, and by the South African War, whose condemnation by the constituencies at the election of 1905 has at least as much justification in fact as the outburst of fashionable Jingoism that greeted the opening of the struggle. As regards events and policy beyond seas, the sons of manual labour have not only given an unmistakeable verdict on accomplished facts: they have both recorded their opinion on, as well as undertaken to modify and re-shape, ministerial procedure in the midst of its execution. The Labour members of Parliament, with their leaders and with the Trades Unionists, intervened during the August of 1920 to arrest and prevent, in relation to Russia, its Bolshevik rulers, and to Poland, the militarist projects imputed by them, not without some reason, to the Lloyd George Cabinet. That administration and the Parliament itself might have no clearly-thought-out international plan nor be tending towards any clear decision; the British proletariat, however, knew exactly what they wanted and what they intended to do. Westminster, with its deliberative Chambers, and Whitehall, with its State departments, might be swayed to and fro, equally uncertain what to attempt and what to avoid. The "gentlemen of the pavement," as Bismarck used to call the artisans and mechanics who interfered with him, thus made themselves masters of the situation, and secured a good chance of remaining so until the Parliamentary chiefs should have prepared an alternative scheme equally consistent in all its parts, and not less apposite to the new perils and snares sprung upon the world.

The democracy's control of the diplomatic machine has not been gained by a single stroke or till after successive inroads on a close system traditionally considered a patrician monopoly. Between 1700

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and 1756 Gilbert West, the Deist whose studies converted him to Christianity, was one of several outsiders recommended by school and college distinctions and invited to join the foreign service, which from that time forward periodically found new blood in previously unconsidered quarters. The best part of a century afterwards the popular movement thus begun was continued by opening desks in Whitehall to limited competition. Whatever may be the goal towards which these are stages of advance, President Wilson's great point, "no secret diplomacy," may be regarded as automatically secured for the near future; while some may find reassurance in recalling that from the eighteenth and through the nineteenth century the foreign policy carried out by a great variety of widely-differing agents has been marked by fewer solutions of continuity than is sometimes remembered.

The War has had the effect of immensely increasing the popular interest in the deliberative processes that have not yet resulted in a general peace; the sacrifices inflicted by it upon the entire community have created a feeling as new as it is deep of national concern in the principles underlying our foreign statesmanship. Once before within living memory something like the same conviction spread itself among the lower middle and industrial orders, to whom diplomacy had previously been a sealed book, or who had never given thought to what ambassadors or Secretaries of State were doing, and with what possibility of consequence to the mass of stay-at-home Britons. Two generations ago, throughout 1847-73, the eccentric, but wisely-informed and sagacious member for Stafford, David Urquhart, determined to enlighten his fellow-countrymen on the true danger of the Aberdeen and Liberal methods in the Near East. The voluminous and instructive propaganda instituted by him had at least the effect he desired. His speeches, pamphlets and fly-leaves in showers reached every workshop in

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the Midlands, and supplied the entire body of English artisans and mechanics with topics of debate at their institutes, which had then begun to educate the masses. Some years after Urquhart, Laurence Oliphant, when member for the Stirling boroughs (1865-8), conceived and towards the close of his life executed the idea of continuing for the instruction of household franchise the diplomatic pabulum that Urquhart had provided for the "ten-pounders" who in his time created Parliament, made and unmade Ministries. The educational mission has been effectively revived in the twentieth century by individual initiative and corporate effort. The July of 1920 gave birth to the Institute of International Affairs, actively supported and enlightened with many useful hints by public men of such widely-differing antecedents, views and knowledge as two former Foreign Secretaries, Mr. A. J. Balfour, with Viscount Grey of Fallodon, and so excellent a specimen of a Labour leader as Mr. J. R. Clynes. The earliest recognition of popular feeling in foreign policy came, as has been shown, from Canning, first, when at Verona (1821) he reversed the action and attitude of Castlereagh, a year before at Troppau, by refusing to coerce Spain into carrying out the decisions of Vienna; secondly, when (1823) he recognised the right of the Spanish colonies in America to revolt. The tradition thus established has made itself felt in and has thus united successive dispensations of our consistently honest and straightforward diplomacy.

The nineteenth-century Lord Malmesbury, when asked by an Ambassador for instructions, said, "Always keep your back to the light, learn to take snuff to disguise your feelings and to gain time." Yet it was none other than Lord Malmesbury who used to tell his foreign agents: "No occasion, no provocation can need, much less justify, a falsehood." Liberal co-operated with Conservative to

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establish and strengthen the tradition of Foreign Office veracity.¹

The most notable link in the chain connecting the diplomacy of the Victorian with that of the Georgian age is undoubtedly Lord Cromer, who regarded secret diplomacy not only with contempt but with the disbelief born of experience. "During twenty years' dealing with men like Lords Salisbury, Rosebery and Lansdowne, I was," he said, "subject to Parliamentary control. Throughout my quarter of a century behind the international scenes, there have never been in British diplomacy any important secrets which from the point of view of morality or policy might not have been proclaimed from the house-tops. The maintenance of peace all my time has been the one guiding principle by which I have tried, as I was instructed, to direct my course. In this I was certainly helped by dealing directly with a Prime Minister or a Secretary of State rather than with a committee of the Commons; if that had been my lot, one of two alternatives would have followed. Either we should have prematurely evacuated Egypt, or democratic control would have resulted in some heroic and violently provocative action towards the French."

¹ From Lord Clarendon (1865-1870) to the twentieth-century Lord Curzon of Kedleston the maxim to be perfectly honest, truthful and straightforward has been impressed on British diplomats as the special art required of them, and is recognised throughout the Empire as the golden thread running through and knitting together successive epochs of Foreign Office administration and widely different schools of statesmanship. Lord Palmerston has been represented as saying, (1) that by always telling the truth he often effectually checkmated his adversaries; (2) that if something was a good thing to say, an Ambassador should say it regardless of historic fact. Neither of these utterances ever came from the lips of Palmerston, who, however, quoted the latter of them, made by a Continental Chancellor in the middle of the eighteenth century, to illustrate the improved political morality of his own day.

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The twentieth-century democratic complaint of a secrecy in international matters, at once dishonest and dangerous, is but the echo of the charge, made just sixty-one years ago by the peace-at-any-price faction, of wars being made without consulting the people. Hence Palmerston's offer (1859) to bring Cobden into the Cabinet, because, as he said, "it is in the Cabinet alone that questions of foreign policy are settled." Eight years afterwards there had been a renewal of the secrecy complaint, and Lord Stanley, afterwards the sixteenth Earl of Derby, then the Foreign Minister, in effect anticipated Lord Cromer's words just quoted: "In our relations with our foreign neighbours we have no greater support than the knowledge that the general principles on which we act are approved by Parliament and people." Words like these have often been heard from those who have filled the office held by the statesman who first gave them expression.

From the Dover pact by which Charles II sold himself and his country to the King of France, and throughout the clandestine and contradictory conventions of the English Government with the principals in the Seven Years' War, diplomacy did little or nothing except in the dark. In the twentieth century for the first time the League of Nations brought down diplomacy, as Socrates was said to have brought down philosophy, from the gods to men; a restlessly inquisitorial Press and a daily running fire of Parliamentary questions about international subjects had already done much to make the secret treaty so difficult as to be almost impossible. In the early part of 1919 it was one of the Fourteen Points ruled out by President Wilson. That, however, has not been followed by a complete solution of continuity between twentieth-century and pre-twentieth-century diplomatic practice, and the result is a degree of diplomatic confusion, obscurantism and popular ignorance on the subject

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unsurpassed in modern experience. For the time the Prime Minister is absolute, and seldom appears in Parliament except in the intervals of his quick changes from one side of the Dover Straits to the other. Even then he does not always take the Assembly into his confidence. Meanwhile, the most reassuring feature in our international service may be expressed by the words, "Not measures, but men." Whitehall increasingly attracts the highest official talent of the time, as has been shown by the instances here. As regards our Ambassadors, these could not desire more opportunities than events have given them of making their mark in the distinguished succession where they now have a place. At the time of Lord d'Abernon's appointment to Berlin, there was another favourite for the post in Sir Esme Howard, a diplomat of the same type as Sir George Buchanan, most happily selected for our Madrid Embassy just before the League of Nations held one among its early meetings on Spanish territory, at San Sebastian. Sir Charles Eliot, it was said, had placed himself out of the running so far back as 1904, when a difference with Lord Lansdowne caused his retirement from the Commissionership of British East Africa. Greatly to the credit, however, of all concerned, our international service is rich in reappearances. Sir Charles Eliot, who at Oxford swept the board of its highest prizes, showed his rare powers in all quarters of the world. Happily for the Government, he was available at the most critical juncture of affairs in our relations with the Far East for our representation in Japan. These are men of historic name, antecedents, seasoned experience and capacity, tested not less variously than severely in the heaviest responsibilities of their calling. They maintain each of them the best personal traditions of their profession, are the last persons in the world either to play to the democratic gallery, or to adopt or connive at methods such as may commit the democracy that employs them to

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adventures of mystery or peril. There is not, however, much in the latest diplomatic experience or in that of earlier periods to cause apprehension that the British taxpayers, if taken by the Government into a general confidence as regards the broad lines and objects of foreign policy, will as a rule make their power felt by any violent demands for a sudden solution of continuity, still less that they will take gratuitous exception to its official executants, nominated by the Crown through and on the responsibility of Ministers. From Potemkin's seizure of Oczakow for the Czarina Catherine II dates the English tendency to consider Russia a rival and enemy in the Near or Far East. At the same time this view especially identified itself with the Tories. Yet the struggles of that period between Foxites and Pittites were marked by no sustained efforts on the part of either to go back on the accomplished facts of predecessors or successors, as the case might be. From 1880 onwards Lord Beaconsfield's and Lord Salisbury's Anglo-Turkish arrangement and Treaty of Berlin were denounced by the entire Liberal party. Gladstonian Liberalism afterwards achieved for itself responsibility and power, but seriously attempted no reversal of what had been done by the bringers back of "Peace with Honour" from Berlin. So, too, with the Ambassadors and other international agents, nominated to their high posts from the political connection happening to be in the ascendant at the time. From Lords Granville, Salisbury and Rosebery in the Victorian age, to Mr. Balfour and Lord Curzon under King George, the principles of British policy in connection with France, Germany, and in the main as regards Egypt, have been the same. So, too, the personal intercourse, more particularly of our Paris representatives with the French Government, has been marked by a fortunate and sustained uniformity. In the latter half of 1920 Lord Hardinge of Penshurst was exchanged for Lord

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Derby at 39 Rue Faubourg St. Honoré. The new Ambassador received the same cordial welcome and his predecessor the same friendliness of adieu as modern France has ever accorded to its English representative. In this way the passing strain placed on it by the vicissitudes of the hour need not prevent our nearest Continental neighbour from becoming a link in the chain of international self-interest and amity which holds the world in peace.

CHAPTER V

THE ANGLO-FRENCH SOCIAL EXCHANGE

The seeds of the Entente Cordiale—English customs and costume uniting St. James's with St. Germain—French "finishing" schools for English girls, and the resulting promotion of Protestant-Catholic fusion—"It is a wise wife who knows her own husband"—The steam-boat as an international agent—An eventful channel crossing in 1832—Stars of a season under Louis Philippe—French leaders of fashion: the Comte de Flahault, Count Walewski—The Duc de Gramont—The eleventh Earl of Pembroke's magnificent equipage—"Wyndham Place"—Marshal Soult's attendance at Queen Victoria's coronation—Soult's tribute to the British nation—Palmerston and Louis Philippe at daggers drawn—Orleanist mixture on both sides of the Channel—Brougham, Berryer; Bulwer Lytton, Eugène Sue—J. T. Delane and Emile de Girardin—An internationalised stage—Charles Mathews in Paris—Henry Reeve and Alexis de Tocqueville—Henry Crabb Robinson; his estimate of Chatterton and intimacy with the Lambs—The London friends of Adolphe Thiers visited by Kinglake at Versailles—"Il doit être Sir Dilke!"—Anglo-French personal links of to-day, yesterday and the day before—Lord Houghton (Heine's friend and benefactor) Algernon Borthwick (Lord Glenesk) Sir Arthur Otway, Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff: their Paris experiences and cosmopolitan associations—The English and French makers of the commercial treaty of 1860; Cobden, Sir Louis Mallet and Michel Chevalier—Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte—Facially the *alter ego* of his uncle, Napoleon I—Lady Blessington's "lions" and the Second Empire—Rival players in the game of European intrigue—How the bomb fell—A rift in the chain of Anglo-French friendship—The Orsini outrage—The French colonels—The "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill—Tennyson on our "faithful ally" and

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Riflemen formation (1859)—Social forces popularising Paris with London: society, fashion and the Press—Leading figures among Paris correspondents—Felix Whitehurst, H. G. Blowitz, Henry Labouchère, Hely Bowes, F. A. Marshall—The rise of the "interview"—The Paris stage during the Second Empire as the clock from which European theatres took their time—New plays in London assumed as a matter of course to be adapted from French originals—Fresh era for English stage begins with T. W. Robertson's *Society*—French theatrical critics much impressed by the writing and acting of the Robertsonian dramas—The London theatres rise to fashionable popularity—The stage as an international link strengthened by the English visit of the Comédie Française—Lord Granville's welcome in their own tongue—London interest in the prince of French dramatists, Victorien Sardou—His influence on English dramatists—The French "mixed" club and its English offspring—Other Anglo-French worthies; Sir Richard Wallace and Sir Thomas Barclay.

"THE Lutetia of the ancients is becoming the Lætitia of the moderns." Such was a witty Englishman's summary of Anglo-French social relations during the period whose diplomatic retrospect has just been taken. After the first Peace of Paris (1814) and Napoleon's abdication (1815), the era of Anglo-French private and public friendships was opened by the visit to Paris of two Englishmen whose names unite by their familiarity the nineteenth with the twentieth century. Since the Imperial overthrow no Briton had set foot on French soil till (April 14, 1814) R. Monckton Milnes, the future Lord Houghton, and Lord Lowther, afterwards Lord Lonsdale, landed at Boulogne. During, however, the two or three preceding centuries the two nations had been knitting themselves in social intercourse. Among the French themselves in the preceding century there had sprung up together, especially with the young nobility, a sentimental love of liberty, a detestation of despotism, and that sincerest form of flattery, the imitation of British habits and fashions, forming in modern times the earliest link

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in the social ties uniting the two countries. During our own nineteenth and twentieth century the Entente Cordiale preliminary to the Anglo-French alliance was marked by the adoption of English modes, designated at least in Paris by their English descriptions. Thus "five-o'clocking" is an institution as well known to the Boulevard Italien and the Parc Monceau as in Mayfair or South Kensington, while *gommeux* and *bourgeois* alike invest the drawing-room rite with certain patriotic associations. For was not its English founder Adeline, Duchess of Bedford? Did not also her Grace's title descend from the fourteenth-century Bedford Duke who found more than his match in the Maid of Orleans? So between 1730 and 1750 the Anglophilism which Montesquieu had done so much to place on an intellectual and political foundation received its expression in the reconstruction after British models of French gardens; the replacing of the old Court dresses by the simple insular costumes; the introduction of horses bought at Horncastle Fair, trained at Newmarket; of racecourses, in their shape and management reproducing Epsom and Ascot; the English seat in riding; while the English gig became as much in evidence in the Bois de Boulogne or the Elysées as the brougham, by the name of coupé, afterwards, or the automobile to-day. The manly garment then recently devised by the combined genius of George IV when Regent, and his tailor Stultz quite superseded the last remaining relic of Bourbon apparel. Count Ségur, the favourite among the Ambassadors at the Russian Court of Catharine II, saw in the London frock-coat a dangerous sign of the passion of equality; while French gentlemen of quality and fashion buttoned it the more tightly across their chest to conceal the stars and orders they had formerly rejoiced to flaunt. Apropos of that, Ségur, too, recalled the applause with which in the Versailles theatre he had heard the courtiers greet the lines in Voltaire's play: "I am the

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son of Brutus, and bear graven on my heart the love of liberty and the horror of kings."

Before as well as after the eighteenth-century Revolution, St. James's, Grosvenor Square and Mayfair were united in the closest social intimacy with St. Germain, and talked scandal about each other just as if they had been next-door neighbours or bosom friends. Thus the fashionable quarter of London knew as soon as that of Paris where it had happened, how the Duchesse de Firmaçon, Talleyrand's niece, had charged Count D'Orsay's sister, the Duchesse de Guiche, with having decoyed away her favourite cavalier, and how the bereft lady regretted not being a man or a member of the half-world, that she might challenge her to deadly combat in the Bois de Boulogne. Of their rival Graces she of Guiche was known equally well on both sides of the Channel for the classical beauty that won her the name of "the lovely Ida," while the shrewdest and most open-spoken among the English dames of quality found in her enemy the most *piquante*, seductive little imp and superhumanly mischievous sprite. The aristocratic cliques, English and French, of the old régime, during the Terror as well as some time afterwards, lived together like members of the same family beneath the Paris and the country roofs of the Larochejaquelein family. From their childhood not a few belonging to this Anglo-French group had eaten from the same dish and had drunk from the same cup.

Throughout the nineteenth, if not into the twentieth century, Emile Souvestre's daughter, with her colleague, Mlle. Dussaut, kept at their house, Les Rûches, Fontainebleau, a school for the daughters of well-placed and affluent parents, recalling by its extremely cosmopolitan character the Continental institutions in which, between 1740 and 1843, English girls of quality were trained to become charming women. These were the convent-schools which lasted much

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later than the period now recalled and which, during more than half the Victorian age, supplied English and especially Anglo-Indian society with some of its best-known and still-remembered feminine figures. The social fusion of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism with French Catholicism had in this way been promoted and, indeed, gone some distance before the third George's scruples arising out of the Coronation oath delayed the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. Thus the chief writer of the *Jerningham Letters* records during the Georgian era the Catholic Miss Webb's marriage, after her Louvain and Port-Royal education, to the Protestant Earl of Shaftesbury, adding, "I think the Catholic ladies seem to be in fashion." Among the fashioning establishments that endowed Anglo-Saxon Protestantism with Popish brides, those most in request were the Convent of Panthemont, the Blue Nuns, the Ursulines and the Abbaye Montmartre, distinguished by the place given in its curriculum to English. Over and above two hundred a year for the schooling there were pocket-money, a guinea a month, the cost of a separate maid, and a very copious wardrobe; "for," insisted the fond mother, "I will not have my little girl deprived of anything that can be comfortable." Patriotic sentiment had not less to do than maternal fondness with the anxiety of these titled mothers that their daughters should impress on all who had to do with them a new feeling of their importance and wealth. The indulgence and the splendour of surroundings allowed to the nobly-born French pupils of these convents put English parents on their mettle that their "little girls" should cut as brilliant a figure and enjoy matrimonial chances as good as the daughters of Gaul who adorned the old régime. For the universally providing nuns found for their charges not only accomplishments but husbands. The couples joined under these auspices knew as little of each other before, possibly even after, marriage as was known by the

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parties to those London Fleet-marriages of which just three hundred were celebrated in the years 1704-5. The convent-made marriages were as quick as the changes of the music-hall. In her *Mémoires d'une Inconnue* the Duchesse de Gontaut relates how, meeting a friend about to become a mother, she asked after the absent husband: the friend neither knew where he was nor was sure she would know him if she met him. "Que voulez-vous? On m'a mariée si vite; je l'ai à peine vu: enfin il est douteux que je le reconnaisse." "Je vous conseille," the friend rejoined, "au moins d'en avoir un portrait." Such were the social quality, experience and atmosphere not less of French than English women of quality who in Paris, or in London, constantly exchanged visits with each other in the patrician houses that were the strongholds of old-world mode, culture and luxury, and consolidated the great gentlemen and greater ladies of the period into a brilliant if ephemeral unity, in one direction recalling the mediæval polity of Europe, consisting as it did not of states and nations but of two classes, and in another presaging the social fusion in French or English drawing-rooms of modern times.

For democratic England the social Anglo-French intimacy began during the interval between the decline of Bourbon legitimism after 1830 and the Orleanist monarchy of Louis Philippe. When this latter régime began, the two countries had been connected by steam navigation for ten years (since 1821). It is not long since I read a family letter describing a French visit made in the year of the first Reform Act. The cross-Channel passage took some five hours; the captain, having neglected his soundings, ran his craft aground five miles west of Calais. His voyagers saw themselves within a stone's throw of the shore, but were prevented from landing by a cholera quarantine. After two days they were allowed to enter Calais harbour, and were inspected by the Commission Sanitaire. "How soon

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are we to be released? " seemed a natural question, obtaining though it did the gruff reply, " Mêle-z-vous de vos affaires. Ven I com', I com' ! " Paris at last was reached (February 28), exactly five days after leaving England. The revolutionary fears of the time had combined with the cholera to send down the price of rooms, and a first-rate suite could be got at the Hôtel Bristol for twenty francs a day.

In the polite life of the French capital there had come a lull. The Opera and the Play-house were, however, as busy and brilliant as the new royal dispensation was unpopular. Among vocalists the tenor Nourrit outdistanced all his English rivals. The great sensation on the public boards, however, was at the Vaudeville Theatre, where a play, *Le Régent*, formed the chief attraction, but failed entirely in its author's attempt to elicit applause by complimentary references to the Court and King, then much discredited by the escapades of his eldest son. As the spring came on the " best " houses opened their doors to approved British guests. The French leaders of fashion included the Comte de Flahault, whose daughter subsequently became the fourth Marchioness of Lansdowne; Count Walewski, the great Napoleon's natural son, strikingly like his father, at different times French Ambassador in London and Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris; and the Countess Walewski, who was English, being Lord Sandwich's daughter. The sojourns of Lord Harry Vane, afterwards Duke of Cleveland, at his Paris palace were sometimes short but always frequent; to him also belongs the distinction of first introducing to his guests the singer, then called the " young Count Candia," afterwards famous as Mario.

The central and most historic figure in this brilliant international group was the Duc de Gramont, associating as he did the monarchy of Louis Philippe with that of Louis XV, in whose bodyguard he had done duty when (1784-6) he filled a part in the Diamond Necklace

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episode by arresting Cardinal de Rohan. In 1832, when over fourscore years of age, he still retained so many of his faculties as to combine the gaiety of a bright middle-age with a memory quite unimpaired. He personally showed his friends the flight of stone steps down which he and his comrades rode to escape the revolutionary mob that surrounded the palace. The one other survivor of this exploit was the Duc's Basque servant, Ivrygoyen. This ancient retainer was always stationed behind his master's chair, and himself mingling in the conversation, recalled for the benefit of visitors how the Duc's ancestors at their castle, Bidache, near Bayonne, coined money, and not only financed Henry of Navarre, but raised troops for him.

The dawn of the Victorian age coincided with the opening of a new chapter in the Anglo-French society of the time. To begin with, a new hotel, the Londres, had sprung up beside the famous caravanseraï of patricians and potentates, the Bristol. It secured an immense English vogue with every class of visitors; most of these could only know by sight the most magnificent of their countrymen, then the observed of all observers, the eleventh Earl of Pembroke, Sidney Herbert's father, whose Paris establishment and, above all, equipage, were the pride of British residents and the envy of native and other onlookers. No other capital except London had ever beheld so perfect a turn-out, and its faultlessness was largely due to the noble owner's personal supervision of everything connected with it. "Have you," he said to his groom, "exercised the horses?" "Yes, my lord," was the answer, "I have walked them twenty times round 'Wyndham Place,'" the good man's way of saying "Place Vendôme." The family good looks had all concentrated themselves in Lord Pembroke; people did not know whether most to admire the face and figure of the great noble, whose cook received the

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wages of an ambassador, or the splendour of the state and surroundings in which he lived. Presentation at the French Court had its difficulties; the Ambassadors, Lady Granville, not without good reasons, would have nothing to do with them. There was, however, still a Duchesse de Gramont, who, after close scrutiny, gratified English ladies of approved quality by presenting them to Louis Philippe and his Queen.

A year or two later than the farewell which may now be bidden to the French capital, a famous Frenchman, at Queen Victoria's wish appointed Ambassador in London, divided attention at the Coronation ceremony with the sovereign herself. This was Marshal Soult, Wellington's and Moore's Peninsular adversary and Napoleon's right hand at Waterloo. Near him in the crowd was the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, a blaze of jewels from head to foot, yet gazed at with nothing of the interest fixed upon Louis Philippe's envoy. Long after this Louis Philippe's Minister, Guizot, incurred the charge of unduly favouring the English alliance. Marshal Soult came to his support with the words: "I know the English in peace and war; I fought them down to Toulouse. Yet when I was in London they themselves cried out in the streets: 'Vive Soult! Soult for ever!' I learned to know the English on the field of battle; I have learned to appreciate them in peace, and I am a warm partisan of the English alliance." Soult had left Napoleon on the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, but rejoined his old master on his escape from Elba, and did what he could towards rallying the remnant of the Napoleonic army after Waterloo.

These were experiences full of interest to the chivalrous London crowd. Together with Soult's words just quoted in the French Chamber, they did more than plenipotentiaries and protocols to reunite the broken links in the bond of Anglo-French amity, and to soften

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the hard memories of Wellington's victory on the soil of Belgium. The English people, as Wellington, apropos of Soult's reception, said, were then ready to go wild with delight at anything, because the Salic Law had placed the Duke of Cumberland on a petty German throne and had severed the English connection with the sovereignty of the unpopular Hanover. Only two years before, it may be said, his royal Grace of Cumberland had been privy to a plot for depriving the young Queen of her inheritance, seating himself in her place, on the plea that otherwise Wellington himself would seize the Crown. Louis Philippe's death in his English exile at Claremont, 1850, was said by Palmerston, when Lord John Russell's Foreign Secretary, to deliver him from his most artful and inveterate enemy. During that period Thiers, the Orleanist Minister, had a pleasant way of repeating to Palmerston whenever he saw him, or to his good-natured friends, the French monarch's clever and ill-natured remarks about him. When conversing with Queen Victoria Louis Philippe adopted a tone something between that of a heavy stage father and a lay evangelist. All the time the royal arch-trickster, by his device of the Spanish marriages, was showing that his belief in truth and principle among men was the same as his respect for the honour of women. And yet this sagacious, shabby, mendacious ex-sovereign was as widely popular after he had found an asylum in Surrey as when he had received the English Queen and her husband at the Château d'Eu.

The association of those two royal names suggests a contrast and recalls the tribute paid to one of them by the greatest master of Anglo-Saxon oratory in any of the nineteenth-century Parliaments. Louis Philippe surpassed all the royalties of his time in the frequency and daring with which he drew the long bow. Not that he ever deceived anyone, because nobody believed a word he said. Queen Victoria, on the other hand,

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was once described to me by John Bright as the most perfectly truthful person he ever knew.

The Orleanist monarchy, 1830-48, brought the intellectual circles of Paris and London so closely together that it may be said for the time to have fused them into one international system. The lawyers and orators of the two countries exchanged hospitalities; the Paris Bar fêted Brougham, the London Bar fêted Berryer. The novelists of the two nations were as likely to find themselves at the same dinner-table of a Gallic as of a British Amphytrion. Eugène Sue invited Bulwer Lytton to his little villa near Paris, on the Seine, and in return found himself a guest at Knebworth. In journalism J. T. Delane and Emile de Girardin were at one time crossing swords in the half-penny sheet, the Orleanist *Presse*, then recently out on the boulevards, or in the *Débats*; and at another trying to harmonise each other's newspapers about Egyptian and Near Eastern affairs generally, while the non-political public of the two countries was speculating what the Fleet Street critics might have to say about the two most daring of Paul de Kock's fifty-six volumes, *Mœurs Parisiennes* and *La Femme, le Mari, et l'Amant*. At the theatre the long-lasting mutual relations of the two stages were in process of establishment. There was no more constant attendant at the Comédie Française or the Vaudeville on a first-night than the younger Charles Mathews, French in so much of his training, for three-quarters of a century the incarnation of the genius of light comedy on the English stage.

There survived almost till within sight of the twentieth century a few Englishmen representing the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale during the years now recalled. Henry Reeve, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as registrar of the Privy Council, and Alexis de Tocqueville, who wrote *Democracy in America*, were nearly of an age, had lived so much

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together, had studied about the same time so closely the same authorities, that the one seemed almost a replica of the other. Both as host in Paris and guest in London the French political philosopher showed himself often as more English than his companion, who at one time, director of foreign policy in Printing House Square, linked his own *Times* period with that of his nineteenth- and twentieth-century successors, Sir Mackenzie Wallace and Sir Valentine Chirol. Both of these, however, possess a journalistic pedigree more ancient than that derived from Henry Reeve. The earliest of war or special correspondents was the Athenian who wrote the *Anabasis*; his modern descendants in English letters are headed by Crabb Robinson, whose Peninsular despatches began in 1807, and who within four years of his death (1867) travelled, with a few pauses, up and down Europe, in whose chief resorts his memory lived not less long than at the Athenæum Club, which he helped to found, as a link between the chief periods of nineteenth-century authorship. He had not only heard Wordsworth's enthusiastic tribute to "the marvellous boy who perished in his pride"—Chatterton's genius was universal; he excelled in every species of composition, an unique instance of precocious talent: his prose was excellent; his power of picturesque description and of satire great—but he had talked with those personally acquainted with the facts concerning this gifted and luckless writer. He owed, they said, little enough to Horace Walpole, but he had of his own will ceased all communication with him some time before he committed suicide. The intimate of "Elia" and all his set, Robinson in 1822 took Charles and Mary Lamb with him on a visit to Paris. Later memories of the little Anglo-Orleanist group now recalled have not been forgotten by the diarists of the period. The French statesman and publicist, Thiers, was the first to go, but remained almost to the last, on both sides

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of the Channel, the central and connecting figure of the company, full of anecdotes about his English associates, even as they were not wanting in reminiscences of him. Soon after the opening of the Franco-Prussian War, Thiers made his European tour in search of allies for his country. In London the friend he first visited was Abraham Hayward, then, as always, lodging at No. 8, St. James's Street.¹ Here the illustrious visitor alighted as soon as possible after the train had brought him to Victoria Station. Would not the oldest of his English friends exert influence to secure British relief for his bleeding country? Hayward never beat about the bush, but went always at once straight to the point. "Put," he said, "all this stuff out of your head! We never trouble ourselves about our neighbours' quarrels now. All that belongs to a very long past." Crabb Robinson throughout his time had done a good deal towards connecting German and English society, interest and thought. Hayward for a short time was an influence in the same direction, but, like his lifelong intimate, A. W. Kinglake, had more identified himself with his French friends.

Some time after the incident just recorded, Kinglake, happening to be in Paris, rode on horseback to Versailles, where Thiers had an official residence. He attracted much attention as he made his way through the grass-grown streets, when, dismounting at his friend's threshold, he heard the crowd speculating who the new-comer might be. By a process of exhaustion the conclusion was generally arrived at that it must be the English member for Chelsea, then a well-known figure in Paris as Gambetta's friend: "Il doit être Sir Dilke," the most grotesque confusion, perhaps, possible of two such diametrically opposite

¹ Many years before, Lord Byron the poet had the same address, but did not inhabit the same house, because the street numbers had been altered and the 8 exchanged for some other figure.

personalities. The French and English friends thus brought together had a way of telling stories about or against each other. Hayward related how Thiers, when travelling in his native land, went some miles out of his way to see an old schoolfellow living in seclusion. "Did he," asked the visitor, "remember a boy named Thiers at the Marseilles school?" No, he did not, but after thinking recalled "*Le petit Adolphe Thiers*—the little *gamin* who was always up to such tricks." "Quite so," rejoined the great man, "it was I." "Well, and have you been doing anything since?" "Oh, several things. Amongst them I have been a minister!" Thiers at once capped the anecdote with two he had picked up concerning Gladstone and Thackeray. Mrs. Gladstone had been with her husband to a service at church in a Kentish village. As she left, mixing with the little crowd, she asked one of them, "Do you know who was in church?" "No, ma'am." "You have heard of Mr. Gladstone?" "No, never." Passing to his English experiences, Thiers had heard and was fond of telling how Thackeray, when standing for Oxford in 1857, found no one in the place had ever heard of him. Hence the telegram to Dickens, with whom he was then on the friendliest terms: "Come and canvass for me, for no one has ever heard of me here, but perhaps someone may know you!"

Thiers, however, had an English friend of more importance, social and political, than any of his already mentioned cronies in this country. No official envoy between Paris and London could have done more, or perhaps as much, to keep the two capitals in a good humour than Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton. This hospitable mediator between the courts, capitals and societies of Europe found himself periodically charged, sometimes by Palmerston to the Orleanist Government, sometimes by Thiers and Guizot, to Aberdeen, Palmerston or

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Peel with confidential messages or hints that his fine tact and temper made instrumental in preserving and strengthening peace, if not in actually preventing war. This most genial of peace-makers employed his wealth, his cuisine and his general opportunities to make friends abroad not more for himself than for his native land. In or about 1825 the German poet Heine had visited England, to find London very dreary, no acquaintance for himself, and the people in the streets odious. Several years after this he made the future Lord Houghton's acquaintance in Paris; apropos of the event he wrote to Lady Duff-Gordon in 1856: "but England has avenged herself well. She has sent me most excellent friends—thyself, that good Milnes and others." It was in Orleanist Paris, too, that Milnes met Thackeray, then an art student in the Quartier Latin, with little or no thought of fame and income from his pen. Lord Houghton's universal benevolence, however, had nothing of insipidity about it, and his French estimates could be as pithily pungent as his English. Not without some qualifying comment of his own he quoted the verdict of the first Earl Granville, our Paris Ambassador: "All French politicians lie, but with distinctions. Comte Molé lies to keep up the dignity of his country; Thiers lies '*de gaieté de cœur*'—it is natural to him; Guizot only lies when the condition of the State requires it" (T. Wemyss Reid's *Lord Houghton*, Vol. II. p. 366.)

We may pass to the French régime, following, after a revolutionary interval, the "citizen king" who made the most of every chance for cementing and multiplying Anglo-Gallic friendships. Till well on in the last nineties no two men were more familiar to Pall Mall and Belgravia, as well as to English and Continental pleasure-towns, than the pair of contemporary friends who at the time of their death were respectively our Ambassador at Madrid and the

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chairman of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway. Each of these also connected his own time with an interesting and historic past. For Sir Arthur Otway was the son of a sailor who had served under Lord Howe at his great victory over the French fleet on the "glorious first of June," 1794; Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff had for his father a nomadic divine whose remarkable record of autobiography and travel mingles with its more serious passages an occasional touch of the grotesquely cynical humour that, inherited by his son, made Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff a diverting speaker and debater at St. Stephen's, and the drollest raconteur in the society of his time. The elder Wolff, born (1795) a German Jew, became at seventeen a convert to Roman Christianity, explored Turkestan in the Bokhara region to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and excited so much enthusiasm at home that the Earl of Orford's daughter, Lady Georgiana Walpole, took him for her husband, bequeathing to the son of the marriage not a few of the ancestral Walpole characteristics, as well as, through her family influence, the prospect of a place in the Foreign Office while he was yet a Rugby boy. Drummond-Wolff's father in 1819 exchanged the Church of Rome for that of England and developed widely-reaching theological affinities. As one of Henry Drummond's most frequent visitors he witnessed, if he did not take part in, the founding of the Irvingite Communion at Albury, received the living of Isle Brewers, in Somerset, lived long enough to see the promising commencement of his son's diplomatic course, and died in 1862. The ties uniting with the past Drummond-Wolff's friend Otway were in a different way equally memorable. His father, as already said, had been present at the great sea-battles of the eighteenth century; after this, at Copenhagen, he was present when Sir Hyde Parker signalled to discontinue the action, and personally took to Nelson

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a verbal message to ignore the signal if he saw a good chance of success. Sir Arthur himself entered the House of Commons in the same year as the venerable and till but recently still surviving third Earl of Ducie. Both Arthur Otway's and Drummond-Wolff's acquaintance with the French people and politics preceded the foundation of the Second Empire. Others, perhaps, there may still be to-day who heard these two friends recall their experiences of 1848, when they contrived to be present at the State entry into Paris of Louis Napoleon as President of the republic which had followed Louis Philippe's fall. They managed it by bribing an old sergeant-major of the National Guard to give them a place among his men and provide them with the muskets which they duly presented as the Prince-President rode by. They were, of course, not in uniform; that did not matter, because several of the veritable Guards themselves also wore civilian dress.

The London acquaintances made during his English asylum by the French republican President of 1848 were in some cases, *e. g.* Lord Houghton, so scandalised by the abominations of the *coup d'état* that on their visits to Paris afterwards they avoided the former exile, now transformed into an Emperor. That, however, did not interfere with Anglo-French relations down to the Mexican experiment of 1864, and the unhappy Maximilian's execution (July 19, 1867). During the third Napoleon's¹ imprisonment at Ham, not far from the Franco-Belgian frontier, he had been visited by Lord Malmesbury, the coming Foreign Secretary of 1852, as well as by one or two other Englishmen who perhaps neither aided nor abetted but felt an interest in his escape from confinement, and more or less welcomed him to the British side of

¹ Napoleon II, the son of the great Duke's adversary, titularly King of Rome and Duke of Reichstadt, had died, of course, at the age of twenty-one, in 1832.

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the Channel in 1846. From the first years of the Imperial dispensation to its close in 1870 the third Napoleon maintained every show of cordiality with this country. The earliest and most memorable of the transactions between Royal England and Imperial France during these years was the commercial treaty uniting the two countries, devised by Cobden, carried out in collaboration with Sir Louis Mallet (1874-83, India Office Under-Secretary), and Michel Chevalier, perhaps the most variously interesting of all nineteenth-century links between widely dissimilar experiences gathered and parts played. For Chevalier began by making socialism something of a religion, in combination with a theoretical crusade equally against private property and marriage. That stage of development lasted only a few months, and had been forgiven and forgotten before he became the champion and missionary of Free Trade. Throughout this business Cobden dwelt much on the help he had received from the French Emperor's cousin, then living in London. This was Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, so remarkably like his uncle, the first Napoleon, that from all parts country cousins flocked to Westbourne Grove, where he resided, in the hope of seeing the descendant, facially the facsimile, of the other Bonaparte who died at St. Helena. Accepted by professed *savants*, especially philologists, as an equal and authority, Prince Lucien Bonaparte to some extent veneered with respectability the French re-opening of the Napoleonic régime. He secured for his cousin, the escaped prisoner from Ham, the entrance to English houses whose thresholds he would not otherwise have crossed. The future Prince-President, afterwards Emperor, was indebted to his own notoriety, audacity and tact for his first appearance in Lady Blessington's Bohemian *ménage* at Gore House, then a suburban villa surrounded by its own private walks and gardens, long before South

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Kensington had been built over by its present Terraces, Places and Squares. There he became one of the trio whose outstanding figures immortalised that dwelling, with Benjamin Disraeli and Count D'Orsay for his chief associates. The Rothschild hospitality under Baron Lionel had then become as cosmopolitan and as pleasant as it continued throughout the life of all his sons, and ensured a welcome at Gunnersbury for the mysterious Frenchman whom the exclusive Whigs had at first eyed askance as a demi-rep.

Meanwhile, circumstances had formed a social tie for the Prince with patrician Toryism. Prince Lucien Bonaparte's reputation, the future Earl of Beaconsfield's and Lord Houghton's good offices, brought him to the Duke of Rutland's London dinner-table as well as to his Lincolnshire seat, Belvoir Castle. From the traditions of that social promotion, perhaps, grew the rumour, long years afterwards, that the sixth Duke of Rutland might espouse the widowed ex-Empress Eugénie. Whig society never quite lost the prejudices against the Emperor, fostered and aggravated as these were by the Whig antipathy to his London Ambassador, Count Walewski, an adventurer with a head turned by his diplomatic rise and his ascendancy over his chief at home, the French Foreign Minister, Turgot, "an inveterate intriguer."

So far back as 1851, a year before the Second Empire began, there came the earliest incident which seemed likely to weaken, if not break, an important link in the chain of Anglo-French friendship. On the British side of the Channel Austrian unpopularity was then at its height; it soon came out that the Prince-President was secretly negotiating with Metternich's successors, Schwarzenberg and Bach, action against Austria's ally, Prussia. *The Times* found it out, and fanned for some little time the popular flame of anti-Napoleonic indignation. Lord Granville, then at the Foreign Office, protested to his chief, Lord John

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Russell, against "the folly of irritating a man who has not only the executive power, but holds by proxy the constituent and legislative votes of the whole country" (Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Vol. I. p. 61). Whether or not Printing House Square moderated its tone, the matter passed off quietly. Seven years afterwards came the more serious outburst of anti-Napoleonic feeling since the *coup d'état*. On January 14, 1858, Orsini and three associates attacked the Imperial cortege, on its way to the Opera, with bombs, killed ten of the suite, wounded 156 more, but did not touch the Emperor or the Empress. The chief colonels of the French army congratulated their ruler on his escape, called London "the infamous assassin's den," and demanded that it should be destroyed for ever. Meanwhile the deal between Count Cavour and the Emperor annexing Nice and Savoy to France had caused the bitterest feeling against the French party to it. These national and personal sentiments subsequently found their record in the famous anti-Bonaparte chapter, standing IX. in the eighth volume of the 1896 edition of Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*. On the other hand, the Emperor's half-brother, the Duc de Morny, wanted to know how and why neighbour and friendly Governments could not and did not destroy the laboratories of assassins. At St. Stephen's Kinglake and his friends were as vituperatively anti-Gallic as the French Press was anti-British. On the 8th of February Palmerston introduced and afterwards, by adequate majorities, carried the notorious Conspiracy to Murder Bill. This was the conduct which on May 9, 1859, inspired the Laureate with his "Riflemen Form!" verses, whose echoes reached every corner of the United Kingdom, and whose last verse contained the lines:

"True we have got—*such* a faithful ally
That only the Devil can tell what he means."

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The Emperor's duplicity continued to the eve of the Franco-Prussian War; it culminated in his secret instruction to General Changarnier to form an army against Rhenish Prussia. "Impossible," replied the General, "without long and serious preparations; while haste may involve results fatal to France."

Whatever the periodical friction between the two Governments, it left little or no sense of estrangement between the two nations. Paris had become the favourite, above all things the smart, capital for the entire Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic. The services rendered by the reception-rooms in the British Embassy, especially to the system established in 1852 by Lord and Lady Cowley, have been already described. The agencies that really or chiefly popularised Paris with London were those of society and fashion. The new English penny Press became a strong force in the same direction. The first penny sheet published on the Thames, the *Daily Telegraph*, not only introduced to each other the two middle classes, but for the first time in the experience of both enabled them, by its graphic Parisian correspondence, to feel that they were mingling in the same existence, and were united by common interests from day to day. That idea was in the first instance due entirely to the insight into public taste shown by the *Daily Telegraph's* real creator, the father of its earliest editor, the first Lord Burnham, and grandfather of its present owner. The first Napoleon had begun to construct the modern boulevards. The existence and the modes of these, the horse-races at Longchamp, the Imperial fêtes and gatherings at Chantilly or St. Cloud, could not have been described more vividly than by the newspaper's correspondent, Felix Whitehurst, for whom also the *corps législatif* as well as *diplomatique* had no secrets of policy at home or abroad, who had the *entrée* of every house worth visiting, Imperial, Legitimist or Republican, and to

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whom the Jockey Club itself was penetrable. Since then Paris has known swayings of Government from Dictatorship to Republic and as many daily recorders of her leaders and life, from the great Blowitz of *The Times*, and his discoverer, Laurence Oliphant, to the vivid and vivacious Labouchère, the "besieged resident" of the *Daily News*, Hely Bowes of the *Standard*, and F. A. Marshall of *Blackwood*, for some years the well-placed and graceful "Maf" in Edmund Yates's *World*. None of these so adroitly steeped his pen in the local colour of the moment or reflected with such picturesque fidelity the social and political inspiration of the city and the century as was done day by day, year in and year out, by the Anglo-French literary product of the Second Empire. For the most accomplished and careful of the French capital's daily historians in the English Press have not always successfully struggled against a fatality of misrepresenting details, with results forming a continuity of drollness alike in newspaper letters of the Orleanist and of the second Imperial régime. Thus among those who devilled for Blowitz was a Mr. F. Conde Williams, a Judge in the Supreme Court of Mauritius (died March 1917), best, perhaps, remembered now from confusing, when on duty at Longchamp, the names of the sires of the horses running with those of their jockeys. Thus in every case the winner was represented as ridden by his own father.

French rather than American was the soil which first produced or grew to perfection the great feature of nineteenth-century journalism known as the interview. The already mentioned Crabb Robinson, and others after him, particularly the pupils of Charles Dickens, had prepared the way for and even anticipated this novelty. Its full development is to be associated with Henri Georges Blowitz, a Bohemian Jew who began in Paris as a German teacher at

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French schools. Discovered, as has just been said, by the shrewd and eccentric Scot who wrote "Piccadilly," after his introduction to Printing House Square, 1871, he remained till his death the best-known and most instructive of the personal links connecting the British middle class with French politics and society, his chief newspaper colleagues being those already mentioned, with some few more, particularly Mrs. Crawford of the *Daily News*.

Throughout the period now recalled the French capital was the great theatrical centre for the rest of Europe, and especially for London, whose dramatists received their inspiration so habitually and notoriously from the Parisian stage that when, after the curtain fell, the cry of "Author!" rose, the critics gravely asked each other from what French original the new piece was adapted. The second half of the Victorian age brought with it a complete change in the relations between the English and French boards. T. W. Robertson's fresh and original dramas, beginning with *Society* (1865) at the Prince of Wales's Theatre, under Miss Marie Wilton's (Lady Bancroft) management, marked a revival of the genuine English comedy in its brightest and healthiest form; in these plays our nearest Continental neighbours soon recognised productions racy of the soil on which they were represented, as well as in the company which played them artists comparable with their own impersonators of Molière's masterpieces. In the English capital, as had always been the case in the French, the theatre now attracted the best writers of their day. W. C. Macready had purified the playhouse; his successors from Charles Kean to, above all, Henry Irving, impressed the stamp of intellectual power on their art. Thus by degrees the first night of a new play in London became, as here it had never been before, an intellectual as well as a fashionable event. In 1871 the Comédie Française made their visit to London, and Paris

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witnessed or heard with satisfaction the appreciative welcome given by all classes to the visitors. The international bond thus formed by the play invested itself with a peculiar charm and grace from the dinner given to the company, and above all from the genial and polished masterpiece of idiomatic French oratory in which Lord Granville proposed their health. The guests of the evening on their return to their native land long recalled the oratorical felicities which had charmed them.¹ No French playwright of his time probably has reflected more successfully in his plays than was done by Victorien Sardou the thoughts of a given period, or charged his atmosphere more powerfully with the suspicions, hopes and fears of a memorable period. His *Dora*, not so much in its plot or dialogue as its general conception, brought back in 1877 to a Paris audience and interpreted anew the psychological conditions of seven years earlier, when Bazaine's capitulation at Metz undermined the belief of all Frenchmen in their leaders, civil or military. This was the state of mind that expressed itself in the long-echoed cry: "*Nous sommes trahis!*" The play just mentioned was "done into English," and under the title *Diplomacy* produced at the Haymarket soon after its original appearance in France. The impression created by it here stimulated more than one English author to adopt its method and, as was done by Sir Arthur Pinero in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, to make the stage as much a commentary on the ideas and incidents of the moment as the leading article of a newspaper.

Meanwhile the English imitation which is the best form of flattery had gratified Gallic self-love by showing itself in the one department of English life the most unlikely, as might have been thought, to be affected by foreign novelty. The Paris Racing Club, the

¹ For these and much more connected with the occasion see Lord Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Vol. II. p. 133.

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Ranelagh, had become the most successful institution of the kind in France. Its prosperity was due to the fact that fifteen hundred of its members were women. To-day the Bath and the Albemarle are only two of similarly mixed societies flourishing in London not less vigorously than any of the still celibate societies that fringe St. James's Street or Pall Mall.

The nineteenth century had nearly run its course when the two countries were united more closely than the pen has yet succeeded in doing by the literary cement of Mr. J. E. C. Bodley's genius and industry. Mr. Bodley, indeed, with a thoroughness born of rare natural gifts, extraordinary national and local knowledge, has brought his countrymen into the very heart of French life, habit and thought, as was done in the case of Russia by Sir Mackenzie Wallace. To Mr. Bodley, therefore, belongs a place in the list of international union-makers who, notwithstanding their earlier date, may be briefly recalled now. The British colony on the Seine had other founders than the magnificent, titled Midases already mentioned. Wealthy too, of course, these were. What Paris, however, chiefly admired in them was their dignified but urbane self-possession, their extraordinary beauties of face and feature, their active, stately presence and ready wit. All these qualities, during the German siege of Paris, were combined in Sir Richard Wallace, whose philanthropic self-sacrifice in the hour of French agony made him the idol of his adopted country, and whose Manchester Square house and collections are to-day the property of the English people. His Paris period overlapped that of another British subject, Sir Thomas Barclay, of Franco-Scottish descent, the founder of the Franco-Scottish Society, who not less than Richard Cobden himself, deserves Sir M. E. Grant-Duff's description as "a chief among international men." His sixteenth-century ancestor established a French

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branch of the family at Paris in 1571, and bequeathed in unbroken succession to his descendants the bodily strength and athletic prowess shown by Captain Barclay, the pedestrian, who from his fifteenth year onwards walked at the rate of six miles an hour, and was the only champion of the road who succeeded in covering one thousand miles in as many successive hours.

CHAPTER VI

PLASTER OF PARIS AND GOLDEN LEAF

Imperial Paris a democratic cosmopolis run by a dictator of dress—Worth's progress from Bourn to the Rue de la Paix—How Princess Metternich helped—"Figures, Francs and Faith" and a twentieth-century presage—Compiègne and its royal associations—The bond of the toilette linking the Second Empire with the Third Republic—The post-war reaction and its effect upon the modes of the moment—How the women of England and France answered the summons of 1914—Their co-operation with the political and economic forces of both countries—The birth of the Anglo-French "women's rights" movement—Its chief supporters, James and J. S. Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin—Its bitterest opponent, Jules Michelet—The rapid twentieth-century advance of the Frenchwoman's emancipatory movement—Female recruits to Medicine and the Bar—The war's legacy of sex discord in trades and professions—The English and the French women's suffrage question—Worth's scientific rival at the Elysée—Dr. J. Y. Simpson: Physician, financier and anæsthetist—His Court services and scientific honours—An Imperial casuist to her confessor on clerical objections to chloroform, and her connection with its subsequent progress, linking her with medical conferences to her latest years—High play in Paris from 1830 to 1848 and its after-currents of a generation later—Periods and persons brought together by Dr. Simpson's reminiscences—Sir Harry Vane-Tempest—Germany's intellectual gain from the French Revolution—The German cult and its makers, Carlyle, Thomas Arnold, Coleridge and Lord Lytton—German romanticism as a European educational factor (*Undine*)—Reconstructive methods of twentieth-century international intercommunication—Teuton and Slav at St. James's Palace—Anglo-Belgian relations cemented at Court, society and club by M. Sylvain van de Weyer—Olive branches at Albert Gate, the French Embassy—Anglo-German

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exchanges and links past and present—The Bernstorffs, Counts Münster, Hatzfeldt and Herr Sthamer in London; Lord Ampthill in Berlin—High politics and high finance—Countries and capitals united by the Barings and the Rothschilds—Their domestic benefactions, social and intellectual.

BOURBON and Orleanist Paris as an English resort was as select and exclusive as the West End of London in the same period. Its Anglo-Saxon visitors from both sides of the Atlantic were all well-to-do, more or less intellectual, and gave the touring rank and file of their compatriots a wide berth. As an Imperial metropolis it became the world's democratic playground. John Bull and his cousin Jonathan equally brought their wives and daughters with them to improve their French accent by going to the theatre, to make their acquaintance with French cookery at the Café Anglais or the Café Riche, and above all to adjust their wardrobes to the latest modes by paying their own court and the gold of paterfamilias to the famous man-milliner, the world's dress dictator, of 5 Rue de la Paix. Charles Frederick Worth first saw the light at the market town of Bourn, the birthplace also of Queen Elizabeth's Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Hereward the Wake, and a central point in the Tennysonian scenery of wide-stretching meadows, the turbulent mill-race and the clear, gentle stream. A solicitor's son, Worth as a boy was discovered by his mother to show a delicate sense of touch in handling the texture of the dresses she gave him to brush, and a quick eye for the hues of the Lincolnshire sunsets. In 1846, at the age of twenty-one, he found himself in Paris, employed by a silk-mercier, Gagelin; at this warehouse he remained twelve years when a Swedish man-milliner, one Bobergh, turned out the first "tailor-made" ever seen on the Seine, much to the admiration of his English friend, who now only awaited an opportunity to start for himself. It was, he said, a time for artistic as well

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as political inspiration. Anarchy in everything to do with the toilette had been the legacy of the Revolution. The disorder increased under the Directory, rooted itself more widely and deeply throughout the Consulate. It was running the most hideous excesses during Louis Philippe's reign and well into the Second Republic that followed it. There were few signs of its abatement when the organiser of æsthetic order appeared on the dress-designing stage. The time, however, was now ripe for a dictatress of fashion to issue her decrees, and to employ the "British Mantalini," as French professional jealousy called him, in securing their execution. The queen of the toilette was Princess Metternich, the admiration and the terror of the most gorgeous and aristocratic among European courts. She had, at the age of twenty-two, just married the Austrian Ambassador, himself only thirty, accredited to Napoleon III. Neither tall nor short, on her first public appearance in Paris she excited curiosity by a certain enigmatic expression of face, a magnificence of mien and manner, as well as by the splendour of her costume. It soon became known that she had set herself to revolutionise the dress of the period, and that to this end she had called in the now famous Worth, recently established on the first floor of No. 5 Rue de la Paix, with a private residence in the Rue de Berri. After due consultation with him, the Ambassadors began her reform by pre-figuring the cut and the fit which were to become universal at the present day; for she abolished the crinoline, and shortened skirts to such an extent that the fashionable feuilletonist, Prosper Mérimée, not only had a better view of charming feet during the valse, but could not help descrying garters as well. Worth's next client from the Napoleonic entourage was the Comtesse de Pourtalés; then followed the Marquise de la Bédoyère, Madame de Castiglione, Madame de Mercy-Argenteau, none, perhaps, of the Princess's intellectual endowments, but

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all bright, particular stars in the Imperial firmament. The Princess Metternich's example was soon followed by the French Empress.

A little later Worth considered there were no two ladies who did him greater credit than the wives of the best-known among French and English generals, Lady Wolseley and Madame Gallifet. By this time also Worth had acquired Transatlantic fame, in the first place to some degree from his wonderful costumes for Miss Clara Ward, the first American girl to electrify and scandalise Paris by forfeiting the princely title which marriage had given her and going off with the gipsy Rigo. Worth's professional skill had now united the New World with the Old. What our own Poole, of Savile Row fame, was as a Boat-Race day host at his Putney villa to English royalty and fashion, Worth in his country house had become to the male belongings of his Anglo-Saxon patronesses. "Yes," he would say pensively on these occasions, "my Transatlantic friends are always welcome; they have what I call 'the three f's': figures, francs and faith! That is why I like dressing the Americans." Worth not only by his luck and skill formed a sort of common denominator for feminine dress throughout the world; he went some way towards establishing in every country a standard price for its chief articles. "What," I once asked him, "is the least sum on which a careful woman can make herself presentable?" "I have known," he answered, "some exceptionally good managers who for four hundred a year contrived generally to be neat. Anything like stylishness requires not less than four thousand a year." This was shortly after the Franco-German conflict; the time caused the great man to add a caveat: "Till we in France have settled down after our troubles, it will be necessary to increase these figures. Should Europe," he added, "be doomed to another struggle on the same scale, the estimate will have to be multiplied by at least five!" And experi-

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ence has shown that the famous man-tailor was a prophet as well as an artist. Practical acquaintance with the effect of the battlefield upon the boulevard enabled him to speak with authority on the subject. In the July of 1870 France had thrown down her fateful challenge to Prussia, and the Princess Metternich had a slight difference with the man whose fortune she helped to make about his little bill, which was rendered for 75,000 francs (£3,125). The lady thought the amount excessive; her creditor refused any reduction, a law-suit followed, and the magnate of the Rue de la Paix carried his point. The same business may be conducted to-day on the same premises by the descendants of its founder. Republican Paris, however, is as little likely as monarchical London to furnish an instance on anything like a similar scale of a disagreement between seller and buyer.

“ ’Tis sixty years since,” to adapt the sub-title of *Waverley*, Worth’s most historic creations of his period set off the charms of Madame Walewska, in the white satin gown with the priceless pearls in her ears and round her throat, and of the Princess Metternich, whose black tulle dress was ablaze with diamonds. The scene of their appearances was Louis XV’s palace at Compiègne, rebuilt and with extraordinary splendour refitted up by Napoleon III; here his victorious uncle met (1810) his second wife, Maria Louisa of Austria. Here in our own time, the September of 1901, the Czar Nicholas III was received by President Loubet to discuss the Franco-Russian policy at home and abroad resulting from the alliance between the two countries. The transformations completed during little more than a generation in the associations and functions of this historic spot, symbolise the vicissitudes of French womanhood during the same period. Their effect upon the toilettes of the time was understood by Worth. His successors in the dynasty he founded form the chief if not the only link between the Second Empire and the

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Third Republic. Contrasts or affinities of material and cut change or kaleidoscopically mix themselves together. Paris retains the sceptre of modes. The new Frenchwoman confesses the same metropolitan allegiance as the old. The patriotically sobered descendants of butterfly ancestresses watch with a wholesome interest and even do something to promote a twentieth-century transition from anarchy to order like that evolved by the Lincolnshire attorney's son when, sixty years ago, he began to remedy the irregularities and excesses of toilette which had first come in with the Directory. These, however, did not include all the petticoat arrangements insisted on by the Ambassadors who discovered the great man-milliner, and who replaced crinolines by short skirts, closely presaging those that are the vogue to-day. Where the modistes of to-day follow their nineteenth-century master is in discountenancing the riot of grotesque and fantastic headgear, of silken, fur or plumage wraps of no particular fit, but put on as if they were loose military scarfs, and every conceivable variety of skirt, also the "bobbed" hair imitating in the matron of from forty to sixty the fluffily rebellious tresses of sweet seventeen. At the present-day period these are all being coerced into order or transformed into elegance, as commanded by the still authoritative and irresistible fashion creators and purveyors of the Champs Elysées and the Rue de la Paix. Thus, too, the Worthian aphorism binds the centuries and the seasons together. "A nation's moods are recorded in its modes; its spells of action and reaction can be read by the seeing eye in what its women wear and how they wear it. Equally for feminine Paris and London an era of dissolution and depression is followed by one of stylish reconstruction, expelling the sloppy *bizarries* of war." So the dresser of European queens and Transatlantic heiresses.

The fact is, though, that when the blow of 1914 fell, modes and manners receded into the background.

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"How can I help?" was the question that came from the heart of old and young of both sexes and of every social level, as on the Seine, so on the Thames. In both countries the question received the same answer. One common impulse of sympathetic patriotism operated, in practically the same degree with each of the two Western allies, as a call from the distractions of pleasure to various forms of toilsome duty, in the open air or behind closed doors.

To this link of common emotion and common sacrifice between the two countries may be added another link of an interesting kind, which may be claimed as a means that fitted the women of both France and England to endure the exceptional physical fatigues now undertaken by them so cheerfully. The Anglo-French game of tennis had hardened their muscles and strengthened their constitutions. Mediæval France had first given to England the original tennis of the closed courts. The game in its open-air varieties was re-exported across the Channel, chiefly through Major Wingfield's offices, in 1874. Its reappearance in that shape on suburban lawns or provincial pleasure-grounds seemed a "throw-back" of the Third Republic's social life to that of the old world Legitimist régime; it soon visibly exercised the same healthy effect on the daughters of Gaul as it had already produced on their English sisters, and in the case of both formed the best of all possible preparations for supporting the physical and mental strain about to be laid on both by the labours and ministrations of the War. English organisation found its French counterpart when *La Confédération Générale du Travail* incorporated itself into the federation of industrial societies; united with each other by patriotic zeal and aim, the industrial brotherhoods or sisterhoods, French and English, of war-time yet differ in the keener eye to the economic main chance shown by the former, and the profit-sharing conditions of its

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programme. So long as the sounds of battle were in the air the allied armies, in addition to the Red Cross workers, drew from provincial France and England the same supply of beneficent camp-followers in female auxiliaries and voluntary aid detachments. Among other aspects common to the French and English war-work was the advantage derived by both from the co-operation with the best political and economic intelligence of the time, in England with men like Lord Courtney of Penwith, in France with men like M. Yves Guyot, the Free Trader, and Baron d'Estournelles, who represented France at the various Hague conferences at the present century's opening, and who in 1903 founded the French Parliamentary group for international arbitration.

From Joan of Arc's time and Alain Chartier's familiarisation of the word *patrie*,¹ French patriotism, particularly of the feminine variety, had taken the colour of religious associations, like those that began to distinguish and quicken the corresponding sentiment in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Within a hundred years of that time the womankind of Western Europe showed themselves true to their militant ancestry by recalling the example of the Carthaginian maids and matrons who wove their long hair into bow-strings during the struggle with Rome. On both sides of the Channel a "woman's rights" movement had begun at nearly the same date. The eighteenth century produced for Englishwomen their earliest champions in James Mill, the almost forgotten father of a more famous son, John S. Mill, and Godwin, as well as gave the French sisterhood their bitterest opponent, Jules Michelet. The feminine

¹ So the most instructive and interesting of Anglo-French twentieth-century historians, Miss Winifred Stephens, in *The France I Know*, p. 15, a work to which the present writer, especially in this chapter, as also elsewhere, is under many obligations.

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demand for political emancipation, though after a long interval, eventually followed the eighteenth-century cry for social equality in the eye of the law. In England it first became faintly audible under the Stuarts. Gaining volume under Puritanism, it received a political character from Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin at the end of the eighteenth century. It was pointedly ignored by the first Reform Act, 1832, but revived with the assurance of complete and not distant success in mid-Victorian days by J. S. Mill. Mill's zeal for the cause advanced it on the other side of the Channel when it was being resisted tooth and nail by Jules Michelet, who had made an enemy of the entire sex by bidding it find its salvation, as it only could, in making the happiness of man. On the other side, Etienne Lamy despaired of justice for the ladies till the Code Napoléon, the great instrument of their oppression, became a dead letter. For Bonaparte, he pleasantly suggested, had wished to compensate men for the loss of their political liberties by making them tyrants in their own homes. In 1884 Naquet's law removed certain disabilities; it thus advanced woman some way towards, as Victor Hugo put it, attaining her majority. After this the emancipatory movement went on without check. The last years of the nineteenth century opened the École des Beaux Arts to women students. In 1900 Mademoiselle Chauvin became the earliest lady member of the French Bar. When the twentieth century completes its first quarter the present figures may justify the expectation of this maiden's legal sisters, numbering not far short of two score.

Take another profession. Seven years before the War the fair sex boasted 450 medical practitioners in provincial France. The War requisitioned them for nurses as well as doctors. To-day national needs and English co-operation have established as a French profession the nursing once exclusively in the hands of nuns and sisters of charity (*The France I Know*,

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pp. 212-15). As regards assiduity, skill and even numbers, the daughters of Æsculapius on both sides of the Channel are united in a healing sisterhood. In England statistics show a steady increase in the same movement, though perhaps at a slower rate and in the face of greater difficulties. For several great hospitals, the Middlesex, Bartholomew's, Guy's and St. Thomas's, do not welcome women students. These, however, in the London School of Medicine alone, recently numbered 450; while in 1919-20 at Manchester University the total has risen from 29 in 1913 to 127. British doctoresses are, however, confronted by serious competition. Their Asiatic sisters, especially Indian women, increasingly adopt medicine for a career; and as the French discovered in Algeria, so from Allahabad to Cape Comorin the present cry is, not for more lady healers, but that the professional market is overstocked with them already.

The last and the present century have witnessed a new and close union between the feminine intellects of the two countries. France had been in preparation for the development since the short and tragic reign of Louis XVI, when the petticoated sex protested against masculine encroachment on the industries that were its traditional heritage. The distaff, said the ladies, did not and would not usurp the compass and the plane. Why, then, as if with a prophetic eye to the coming Worth, they asked, should men become embroiderers, milliners, dressmakers? Let the old craft-guilds be restored, with entrance to them barred by severe examinations and searching moral inquiry. In England the signs of sex-war have been caused by the inevitable reactions of foreign service upon home employment. The men were ordered abroad: the vacancies thus created were efficiently filled by women, who on the return of peace did not readily surrender their positions to those who had been fighting the nation's battles. Meanwhile, also, large and long-established

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businesses had passed from male to female control with results that satisfied staffs and shareholders alike. So on the other side of the Channel large concerns such as La Grande Samaritaine and La Maison Paquin were showing such sustained capacity of Frenchwomen for occupation of this kind as could not but bear fruit on British soil. One specially English phase of feminine movement from the nineteenth century's first years onwards, the political emancipation of women, was a French as well as an English cry. Georges Sand (1804-76) showed much indifference to the feminine suffrage. Her disciple, Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber), if not sharing this apathy, believed that work alone could give her sex real power. A few years, however, before the War the triumphs of English womanhood exercised a widely stimulating influence in France. One or two French landed gentlewomen led the suffragettes of that day with the question, "My tenants only have the vote, why should I, therefore, pay the land tax?" Hitherto the dissatisfaction of the sex in France had been not political but economic, caused by the alleged injustice already mentioned. The French union for the vote to women found an ally in the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. In 1918 a French senator, an avowed pupil of J. S. Mill, brought forward the Bill for including women over twenty-five in the communal voters for the Electoral College that chooses the French senators.

After the War the Franco-American division of the Triple Entente was utilised in the feminine interest. The reconstruction of the world on a democratic basis, said the ladies, could only be attained when they had received the vote. President Wilson agreed: "Without women's help the War could not have been carried on, or its sacrifices borne. The only acknowledgment they ask is the vote. Can we in justice refuse it?" (*The France I Know*, p. 221). On another subject certain variously representative French ladies (Mme.

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Poincaré, Mme. Alphonse Daudet, Mme. Adam, and la Duchesse d'Uzès) appealed to their sisters, and through them to Europe at large, that they might not be judged from the misrepresentations of their sex by Zola and other novelists. "Look," they cried, "at what we have done and are doing in this War, how in our nurse's costume, our last year's tailor-made, too often, alas, in our widow's weeds, we labour side by side for the national cause." English feeling endorsed this protest from experience; by doing so it added a fresh strand to the bond of international affection.

The social favour shown to Worth by some of his distinguished clients gave him a position in Paris not unlike that filled in London by the sartorial master of Savile Row, Mr. Poole, the nineteenth-century successor of the fourth George's tailor and friend, Davidson. However, the Lincolnshire milliner was not the only untitled Briton often requisitioned at the Imperial Court. Dr. J. Y. Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform, had been first heard of by the Empress Eugenie, long before her marriage, from her Scotch connection and acquaintanceship. Gradually he became her chief medical attendant as well as adviser in matters only less important than health. For the little Edinburgh professor and physician, whose quick, piercing eye, judicial manner and habitual brown or snuff-coloured suit still lives in some memories, was a born financier as well as healer. The fingers of one hand were as constantly and closely on the pulse of the European money-markets as those of the other on the wrist of his patients. The Empress had been gratified by his reception into the French Academy of Sciences during the fifties, and still more by the award to him of the Montyon prize (2000 francs) for "the most important benefits rendered to humanity." If, which is not probable, Court favour had anything to do with these distinctions, the great gynæcologist more than repaid it by his singularly sound advice about

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the Imperial investments when he first heard the premonitory murmurs of the storm which (1869-70) was to hurl his patient from her pride and splendour of place. Among the spiritual advisers at the third Napoleon's Court there were some who took religious objection to the use of the anæsthetic by which Simpson had relieved or averted more pain and agony of body and mind than it had so far proved possible for any one student of science to prevent. Physical distress, the Empress heard it said by some of those about her, especially in childbirth, was a Divinely appointed female heritage. The Imperial lady quietly asked whether suicide and the conditions leading up to it were also a Providential decree. "Because," she said, "surgical operations and other physical ordeals often involve agony so acute as probably to end in death or in permanent disability. Yet these dangers can be averted and the necessary process carried safely through by the simple agency which Dr. Simpson has brought within the reach of all." "If," said the Empress to one of her priests, "you have some expert medical opinion on your side, may it not be that professional jealousy speaks through a Jesuitical masquerade of conscientious scruples?" Simpson's Imperial patient had at the birth of her son profited much from the anæsthetic use of chloroform. She took much interest in the controversy about its religious aspects and accepted the dedication to herself of the Professor's masterly answer to the censures that assailed his discovery, showing, as his reply did, that from the known beginnings of medicine the Church, then and long afterwards closely connected with the healing art, had encouraged what the seventeenth-century dramatist Middleton, in his *Women Beware Women*, calls :

" . . . the pities of old surgeons,
Who ere they show their art
Cast one asleep, then cut the diseased part."

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Throughout her life she followed the progress of Simpson's medical treatment. Chloroform celebrated its jubilee in 1897. In that year, at the age of seventy-one, Simpson's patroness received and read the official report of the proceedings, issued by the Anæsthetists' Society.

The Court of the Second Empire also did something to cement the French and English branches of the medical profession. The fourth Earl of Carnarvon's brother, Dr. Alan Herbert, began his Paris practice during the period now recalled; by his professional skill, kindly temper and social tact he brought the medical men of both countries into the pleasantest mutual relations. The Anglo-American dentist, Mr. Evans, established himself on the Seine about the same time, and was able to render the dethroned Empress, after the fall of Sedan, service that ensured her safe retreat to England. That was an extra-professional attention resembling from that point of view the personal benefits for which the Empress felt herself primarily indebted to Simpson. "But for his experience and warning," she once said, "I might have left France penniless." She had seen something and heard more of the ruin wrought by that gambling in the funds which raged in the French capital, to an extent never known in London, between 1830 and 1848. The passion spread from the men to the women, who secured a *parquet* of their own in one of the Bourse galleries. Expelled from this by M. Jauge, the Minister of Commerce, they continued their Stock Exchange operations in the outer passages of the Bourse. This continued on an *al crescendo* scale throughout the Orleanist and into the Bonapartist régime. Feminine wiles produced much fatal speculation in bogus securities. The whole money-market seemed for a time confused and corrupted. Thrifty clients desirous of laying out their savings to advantage found no stockbroker whom they could trust. General confidence and sanity had

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not been restored when Dr. Simpson appeared in the Imperial entourage, to give his powerful friends advice more valuable than they would have received from any other man then living.

Simpson's singularly varied experience, social as well as professional, made publishers besiege him for his memoirs. The French Court had its reasons for dissuading him from any offer of the kind. The public, therefore, of the two countries missed a work which, had it been written, would, at least from the social standpoint, have been of incomparable interest. For Simpson combined a pen light but vigorous with an unrivalled knowledge, from personal experience or authentic tradition, of international celebrities. Amongst these were Lord and Lady Londonderry, who with many of their near relations continued their long residence in Paris till the Victorian age began. Simpson could recall this great lady's father, the handsomest, hardest living and most eccentric man of his time, Sir Harry Vane-Tempest; inheriting a vast income and marrying an enormously wealthy wife, he was nearly, if not quite, the richest commoner of his day. Hunting, drinking, cock-fighting and the Turf were his chief amusements. A few days after his having won the St. Leger, he produced a sensation by riding his victorious steed in Hyde Park. During the same season he bet Sir Hervey Aston that he would knock down the first man who came into the Newmarket stand, and won his wager. He seldom rose from his Wynyard dinner-table till after sunrise, then put himself into morning clothes and walked or rode about his estate with his steward.

France was not the only foreign land with which Simpson was made a link by personal experience or by association with the best-placed observers, sometimes contemporary with himself, sometimes slightly his seniors. His professional career began with the Victorian age, some three years after his fellow-

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countryman, Thomas Carlyle, had transferred to London himself and his Teutonic studies; what he heard concerning these had the effect of an inspiration upon the young medical graduate. The savings of his thrifty youth and the help of well-to-do relatives enabled Simpson to make a little German excursion and to observe the scientific and generally the intellectual life of the country during the period in which the French Revolution had not quite receded into ancient history. "Most nations," he would say, "have themselves to go through the season of cataclysmic disturbance, whether military, political, domestic, foreign or all together, that usually precedes a great and enduring outburst of intellectual production." For Germany that stern training was vicariously undergone by her great neighbour on the other side of the Rhine. The Gallic eighteenth-century upheaval created the Augustan age of German literature and became, as Madame de Staël put it, the parent of Goethe, Humboldt, Kant, Klopstock, the German Milton, and Schiller. Its effect upon England was contagious and almost immediate. Before then Coleridge had blended English with German thought. By doing so he had extended and deepened the interest of educated Britain in the thought and language of a country whose master-minds had not then deified the State or militarised and materialised themselves. Carlyle's familiarity with German methods and German material made him the admiration and the envy of others as ready as himself to sit at the feet of German masters. Amongst these was James Young Simpson, to whom Niebuhr's English friend and brother historian of Rome, Thomas Arnold, deplored the lack of knowledge as regards outline and colour which made his own word-portraits a sad contrast to Carlyle's inimitable living pictures. The inferiority in character-sketching thus deplored by him did not prevent Thomas Arnold during the nineteenth century's first

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half from being as powerful a link in the chain of Anglo-German intercourse and thought, social and philosophical, as S. T. Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle himself or, somewhat later, Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton, whose *Pilgrims of the Rhine* exhaled the metaphysics of Bonn in every chapter. Of all pre-Christian battles the defeat of Varus in the Teutobergian forest was considered by Arnold the most important; as Dr. Simpson, when visiting their common acquaintance, John Wilson at Elleray, heard him say, it for ever confined the Romans to the western side of the Rhine, and preserved safe and free the Teutonic element in modern Europe. The didactic turn bound together the different Coleridge generations, from the Ottery clergyman to the Lord Chief Justice of our own day. The same attribute connected the re-creator of Rugby School with his eldest son, the apostle of sweetness and light, who in the "Arminius" of his *Pall Mall Gazette* pieces showed his filial piety by perpetuating the name of his father's Teutonic hero. Meanwhile German Romanticism had taken its place with the general public, French not less than English, as an educating agency, through the ubiquitously translated and read *Undine* of De la Motte Fouqué. During the eighteen hundreds the Leipzig scholar Dindorf, after his Continental professorships, was carrying on his work at Oxford in connection with the University Press, thus presaging the labours on the Isis of his more famous countryman, Max-Müller, during the second half of the Victorian age. The same period included also Benjamin Jowett's famous German tour, from which he brought back to establish in the Oxford schools the History of Greek Philosophy.

International antecedents like those now reviewed are but having their natural and wholesome results in the right hand of fellowship held out and the message of goodwill sent by the representatives of study, teaching and thought on the Isis to their fellow-

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labourers at the chief seats of the German learning, to which scholarship and philosophy elsewhere have ever been and remain under a debt always acknowledged, though never in the nature of things fully to be repaid.

The twentieth century, also, has brought into existence another body combining usefulness at home with a sense of fellowship abroad. This is the National Council of Social Service: the report of its doings appears in a handbook called *The Leisure of the People*. Its compilers do not confine their outlook to the United Kingdom. They direct attention to similar movements, the legacy of the war, beyond seas, and to the principles underlying reconstructive methods of German origin. Ambassadors, to or from whatever Court, may have an interest and importance reaching far beyond the diplomatic circle. So it was with Baron Bunsen, representing the Prussian sovereign, Frederick-William III, at the English Court, 1842-54, by his tastes, endowments and personal associations a contributor equally to the enlightened ideas of his time and the promotion of international goodwill. Next to Bunsen during the years now recalled no foreign representative had a greater personal following or a wider popularity than one whose face bore a curiously close resemblance to his contemporary, Lord Brougham, but differed from this omniscient peer in that Brougham was the last of his order to season his casual talk with terrific oaths worthy of the Georgian Duke of Cumberland or Lord Chancellor Thurlow. Baron Brunnow, on the other hand, said the pleasantest things in the softest and silkiest of tones; his ready and always obliging amiability really endeared him to all classes here beyond any other Anglo-Russian personal link previously supplied by the Czar. It was the same when he visited the capital of our Crimean ally. Whether in London or Paris, before or after the Russian War, he could not walk down the street except amid popular cheers. On his reappearance after a long interval in Chesham

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Place, during the Russo-Turkish War (1873), Brunnow found himself eclipsed by Count Chouvaloff, the Czar's special envoy, a diplomatist of much social charm but highly-polished insincerity, quite indifferent to a public that knew and cared nothing about him. All this time, however, the Russian Chancery possessed in its staff one or two diplomatists, like M. Barthélemy, connecting it most agreeably with general society in London. The Anglo-Russian question of the hour was Khiva. Any popular interest in it came entirely from Fred Burnaby's Turkestan ride, establishing, as it seemed to do, a connection between the Blues in Regent's Park and an unknown province in Central Asia.

Internationally Queen Victoria's last thirteen years were rich in the personal cement joining the English people with their nearest Continental neighbours. M. Sylvain Van de Weyer, in a degree unknown to his predecessors, united all that was brightest, wisest and best in Belgian society with their corresponding qualities in England. At Albert Gate the representative of the third French Republic, M. Waddington, excited among all classes here real and unique interest from being the son of an English father whom commerce had established beyond the Dover Straits. M. Waddington, too, was the exact contemporary as regards date of birth, education at Rugby and Trinity, Cambridge, of the fifteenth Lord Derby. To-day he is rightly remembered for having promoted the international sentiment which his successor, M. Paul Cambon, helped to develop (1898). This in due time (April 8, 1904) took concrete form as the Anglo-French Agreement. In France Waddington's business powers had singled him out for promotion to the Finance Ministry. At the time of the Derby-Disraeli Government, 1852, a French lady in London said to the Prime Minister, " You know, Lord Derby, we're going to have an English Chancellor of the Exchequer? " " I

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only wish to goodness," was the reply, "we had one too!" Lord Granville's Foreign Secretaryship (1880-85) witnessed and promoted not only the removal of Anglo-German as well as Anglo-French difficulties, but at the various conferences of his time an appreciable strengthening in the mutual goodwill at least of the two Western Governments. The Granvillean period had expired and that of Lord Rosebery begun before the instalment at Albert Gate of the French representative, M. Paul Cambon, who in the eleventh year of King George V completed an English residence (1898-1920) longer by two years than the Paris Ambassadorship of Lord Lyons (1867-87). That sufficed to make the nineteenth century memorable in Anglo-French annals. The age following it had maintained its predecessor's distinction not only from the armed alliance of the two nations, but on the other side of the Channel from the industry, patience and skill in all kinds of international service shown by a typical representative of the old English nobility like the sixteenth Lord Derby; and in our own country by the sagacious and even sympathetic insight consistently displayed by the emissary from democratic France in his personal as well as official dealings with all sorts, conditions and interests of monarchical England.

Ambassadorial qualities and successes of this kind are not limited to the cases or the periods now recalled. During early Victorian days the English and German courts and chanceries were on excellent terms. Before Count Bernstorff represented his Government during the war period at Washington, there had been a little dynasty of that name constantly on the move between the metropolis on the Spree and that on the Thames. The Bernstorff accredited to the Court of St. James's under King George's grandmother was sometimes placed in difficulties, first by the Danish-German War (1864), and, six years afterwards, by that between Germany and France. Altogether, however, he did tolerably well,

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thanks largely to Lord Granville's kindly encouragement. Those were the qualities ever at hand to smooth friction between the two countries and Governments, winning through the trying period from 1870 to 1885 the admiration of our consummate envoy at Berlin, Lord Ampthill, for "having so tactfully steered out of the complications caused by entangling alliances into the independent prosecution of a truly British national policy" (Lord Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Vol. II. p. 268). The best known of Count Bernstorff's successors, Count Münster and Count Hatzfeldt, were particularly useful in accurately reflecting so much as could be known about the reserved and reticent Bismarck—what he thought of the Egyptian Question that so sorely tried his patience, as well as his genuine and even grateful appreciation of the English reception given to his son Herbert. The diplomatic atmosphere thus generated proved of practical value in regard to the communications between the two Governments concerning Heligoland and the Kiel Canal. Count Münster's appearance, bearing and tastes were those that characterise the Englishman of the same aristocratic antecedents. As a fly-fisher he filled his basket from every kind of water. On the road the handling of his perfectly-turned-out team gave him a place of honour as well as interest at the Hyde Park meetings of the Four-in-Hand Club. A sportsman of this kind is not, perhaps, likely to come to us from Berlin again; at the same time, Count Münster's twentieth-century successors may be no doubt trusted to display the qualities suited to their high position in these democratic days of political, commercial and social reconstruction.

Meanwhile the October of 1920 witnessed in the Oxford overtures of renewed friendship to their Teutonic brethren an advance towards Anglo-German amity, the more significant because the Prussian professors, preachers and teachers of all kinds were those who led the denunciatory chorus against England before as

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well as during the War. On the same principle that science and learning know nothing of international differences, the historians and *savants* of Berlin and Rome, formerly divided by rival claims in special research, have held out the mutual olive-branch and are now pursuing their studies in harmony, not without a benediction from the Isis and the Cam. England is a leading figure in all movements that pacifically engage the Triple Entente. The British Institute at Florence has done more than conferences and protocols to widen Italy's social as well as intellectual horizon. If, as seems probable, when these lines meet the public eye, Mr. E. H. Hutton's attempt proves successful, a London counterpart of the Florence Institute will be performing an analogous work for Englishmen. No one has co-operated with Mr. Hutton more loyally than the representatives sent from the Quirinal to our own Court. When the Marquis Imperiale gave place to Signor Martino, he found a successor as regards Anglo-Italian relations as interested in the subject, as adroit and as earnest as himself.

From prehistoric time continuously to our own, money and the need of it have done more than any other one force towards bringing the nations and the Governments of the world into mutual touch. May not this have been what Professor E. A. Freeman meant by his characteristically impatient exclamation : "*Modern* history? Why, modern history begins with the call of Abraham!" Mesopotamian research has at least revealed that in the patriarch's native land a firm trading as Egibi and Sons during the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. financed not only private individuals but petty princes and states for the enterprises of peace and war. The functions of the primitive bankers or money-lenders on the Euphrates or Tigris littoral thus established descended through an unbroken succession of Italian, Spanish and German capitalists to the century during whose first quarter the Duc

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de Richelieu, the wittiest of French Premiers (1821), said that Europe had six great powers—"Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Baring Brothers." The circumstance prompting this remark was the gigantic loan to the French Government by which the Bishopsgate house in its second generation relieved France of a crushing occupation by the Allies' armies. By this time another golden dynasty was adding itself to the group. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Nathan Rothschild, the founder of the New Court line, reached England, but did not descend upon London till he had given Lancashire a taste of his quality by outwitting the hardest brains in the capital of cotton. From Roman times Manchester's situation on the Irwell and its proximity to Liverpool had made it a growingly important seat of the textile trade. This, though flourishing when and long before Nathan Rothschild set foot in the place, had not as yet thoroughly organised itself in the different departments of the great industry. To the new-comer's piercing eye and astute mind there could be no secrets of the trade. The first thing was to provide the manufacturer with the raw material. The working up of the fabric for the market included the dyeing or calico printing; the articles employed in that process were, like the material itself, found by Rothschild for the maker on terms as advantageous to the vendor as those exacted afterwards for the finished article. Each of these three stages in the production yielded Rothschild its separate and substantial product.

Meanwhile this third son of Mayer Amschel, the Frankfort pedlar, took in 1806 the name of the sign outside his father's shop ("Rothschild" = Red shield). The Elector of Cassel, the earliest patron both of sire and son, had made the first Rothschild his agent for his extensive dealings in the English money-market. Nathan, therefore, had become a capitalist on a huge scale when he first opened his banking business in

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St. Swithin's Lane. As for the gradations and qualities of service to the British Government and people during the Napoleonic wars, the freshest and fullest version of an oft-told tale, including other details just given, will be found in Ignatius Balla's *Romance of the Rothschilds* (Eveleigh Nash, 1913), as well as an article based upon this work (*The Quarterly Review*, April 1919). The house of Rothschild, like that of Baring, is as rich in the associations of Peace as in those of War. King Leopold's accession to the Belgian throne (1831) opened a period of turbulent patriotism and prolonged cries for the war with Holland against which the new monarch had set his face. Even his wise steering might have been less successful than it was but for the tranquillising influence of New Court. Belgium needed a loan to settle itself. The Rothschilds were ready to contract for it, but required and received a guarantee that the money would be used for the purposes of Peace alone. The Baring and the Rothschild millions displayed one common feature in their expenditure, as real, as beneficent and sustained in its objects and results as any of those on which the historian chiefly dwells. By the present twentieth century the European states have so improved their position as to have little need for an international relieving officer. There are still banks to be subsidised or strengthened, mines, factories and mills to be established and developed. Such to-day, as ever, are the foundations and the fruits of national prosperity. Domestic work of this sort lacks and can well dispense with the sensational advertisement proclaiming the operations of what is known as the "high finance." Even in that, Bishopsgate Street and New Court find the issue of foreign loans has become the legitimate business of the great joint stock banks, which have shot out from their London centre branches to all the chief capitals abroad. Whether and when this competition may affect the two banking houses that have

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put round the world a girdle more precious than that of Puck is mere guess-work. The riches of the Rothschild family are so stupendous that its members have only to maintain a masterly inactivity till there comes an undoubted opening for some financial stroke of importance as world-wide as the Suez Canal purchase in 1874. Nor is it only in these matters that the two great City establishments resemble each other. Both have allied their revenues with the nation's intellectual not less than social well-being. In the home counties, now to a great extent an appanage of New Court, the interest of Tring Park and, during Baron Ferdinand's time, of Waddesdon Manor, in education has supplemented Government grants and founded prizes for the encouragement of scholars. The same year (1874) that saw the Suez Canal delivered by New Court from becoming a French monopoly, saw also the re-creation and re-endowment of Charles Fox's Alma Mater on the Isis by the conversion of Magdalen Hall into Hertford College.

CHAPTER VII

THE ANGLO-SAXON UNION IN MIND AND MATTER

The Peace of 1815 opens Europe to Anglo-Saxon globe-trotters from both sides of the Atlantic—Literature leads the way—George Ticknor of Boston—Washington Irving—A Queen Anne precedent for the Abbotsford post-bag—Sir Walter at Terry's Adelphi—*The Pilot* as a presage of coming Anglo-American stage relationships—Charles Mathews the "entertainer"—The Macready-Forrest riots—Joseph Jefferson in Washington Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*—C. F. Browne (Artemus Ward)—American artistes on the British boards of the eighties—Trans-Atlantic verdict on Henry Irving—An opinion about Irving's Mathias in *The Bells*—An intellectually overawing trio—The parallel courses of British and American literature—From John Locke's political philosophy to *The Federalist*—American discovery of English genius—Browning and Poe in the crucible—Longfellow as a domestic and universal singer—His life's work, its preparation and results—The American Ministry at St. James's becomes an Embassy—United States Ministers in retrospect—James Monroe (1803-6)—J. L. Motley, a link with Queen Sophie's brilliant Court at the Hague—J. R. Lowell, the Phelps and Robert T. Lincoln—The American Civil War: English support of the Southern cause unconsciously demonstrated by Lord Hartington—Carlyle's pleasant way with the olive branch—The most indissoluble Anglo-American tie: the voyage of the *Mayflower* (1620)—Some outstanding entries in the ship's log—Initial stages in the development of a nation—The literary element introduced by Capt. John Smith and exemplified in modern years by Walter Hines Page—The first American Ambassador, T. F. Bayard—The second, John Hay—Joseph H. Choate—Whitelaw Reid, an old friend with a new title—The Kinsmen Club—General Grant Wilson, Samuel Ward and Mrs. Ward Howe ("The Battle Hymn of the Republic")—The pulpit as an Anglo-American link: what Dr.

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Jowett's congregation thought about Abraham—Andrew Carnegie in his person, work, pastime, and his golden bridge-building across the Atlantic—American marriages *in excelsis*—How they unite the rank and wealth of two continents.

BEFORE reuniting the hostile states of belligerent Europe at Versailles, but on the same January day, 1783, Anglo-French cement joined in friendship the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race after the American War of Independence. A little more than a generation afterwards the Vienna settlement opened a peaceful Europe to travellers of every speech and clime; and the succession of transatlantic globe-trotters was opened by a New Englander who traced his family lineage direct from the Pilgrim Fathers. This was the wealthy pioneer of transatlantic culture, George Ticknor, Scott's yearly visitor at Abbotsford, and one of the American friends who induced Sir Walter, somewhat reluctantly, to sit for his portrait to some artist of their choice. The artist in this case was Leslie, whose name connects more than one American painter with the Royal Academy schools. A few years before his death (1871) Ticknor, long since established as a social ambassador from the New World, appeared in Oxford to receive his D.C.L.; he then delighted his hosts by vividly reminding them how unexpectedly near, as he put it, they were, not only to the author of *Waverley*, but through him, in a manner that Ticknor proceeded to explain, to the literary usages of the Queen Anne period. He prefaced his reminiscences with a quotation from Pope's prologue to his satires:

"Bless me! a packet. 'Tis a stranger sues,
A virgin tragedy, an orphan Muse.'"

"Sir Walter's experiences," he said, "were within my own knowledge those of Alexander Pope. I was," he continued, "myself a guest at Abbotsford when the

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post-bag one morning brought a bulky despatch in the shape of a drama from a New York young lady; would the great man read, revise, supply prologue, epilogue, and recommend it for prompt presentation to the manager of Drury Lane, as well as secure her a handsome sum for the copyright? A week or two afterwards came another parcel containing the same drama ('The Cherokee Lovers') in duplicate, in case of the rough weather having brought any accident to the earlier missive. Sir Walter," added Ticknor, "smiled a comically rueful smile because, as he said, 'even without favours of this kind my bill for letters is seldom less than £100 a year!'"

Scott's London experiences during the nineteenth century's first quarter included the earliest connection of American authorship with the English stage. Fenimore Cooper's *Pilot* was dramatised at the Adelphi, then owned by Daniel Terry and Frederick Yates. The novel was written throughout in a strong anti-British temper. The Adelphi playwright turned it into something like an American satire by the simple expedient of attributing to the Yankee *dramatis personæ* all the odious and ridiculous characteristics with which the novelist had invested the English figuring in his story. The audience included many critics from the New World. These showed their disapproval so violently that a little company of fighting men from the East End was brought westward to keep the theatre from being wrecked. Some time before this incident, while the English were being driven out of Boston, there had been born in London (1776) a comedian, Charles Mathews, who after some years of the London stage left it in disgust. He hit upon an entirely new way of amusing the public that secured him, and those who followed him in this line, patrons who never on principle entered the theatre. The elder Mathews not only took with him across the Atlantic the profession of "entertainer" that he had

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created; he brought it back, with many improvements, to England, and prepared the old country for a succession of public favourites from the New World. During the nineteenth century's first half the relations between the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon public had been anything but cordial. English and American audiences from the beginning of the Victorian age to the epoch of the great Hyde Park Exhibition were engaged in a series of hissing duels. The British capital fired first. Edwin Forrest, the player from Philadelphia, on his first appearance here had been well received. In 1845 his "Macbeth" drew upon him a tempest of disapproval; four years later New York returned the compliment upon Macready by a disturbance before the curtain that almost threatened civil war. The avengers of the English slight to Forrest delivered an attack on Macready's partisans. A general engagement followed, and twenty-two lives were lost.

The early nineteenth-century agencies equally appealing to and effectually uniting the Stars and Stripes with the Union Jack were literary, personifying themselves in Sir Walter Scott and Washington Irving. Appropriately enough, therefore, some hundred years later it was an American actor, Joseph Jefferson, whose performance as Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle," and whose warm welcome in the best of English society, promoted as well as gave a character of its own to the social and intellectual friendship of the two nations, initiated by George Ticknor. The use of the word "show" for any kind of popular entertainment began with P. T. Barnum, who, born at Connecticut, 1810, made in his eighty years of life £85,000 out of his business. The best-known of his countrymen who employed after him the same term in the same sense, was Charles Farrar Browne, "Artemus Ward," Joseph Jefferson's contemporary, distinguished by the same retiring modesty of manner

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and animating general conversation with the same quiet, dry and pointed wit. "Artemus Ward" at the Egyptian Hall had not the same popularity as his book, which during the sixties adorned the English vernacular with as many phrases, heard on as many varieties of lips, as came to it in the next century from the repertory of *Uncle Remus* or *Alice in Wonderland*. These two representatives of Yankeeism at its chastened and pleasantest best began a new and lasting connection between the artistic and literary circles of the two countries. From that time the fusion of playgoers, show-seers, readers on both sides of the Atlantic has been complete. Three thousand miles of separating ocean did not prevent Henry Irving from playing to a public in New York very much like that already captured by him in London. The Americanising of the English stage and music-hall has gone, together with the growing applause for American artistes, ballets, dancers and freak-fashionists. These enthusiasms reached their climax in 1886, when at Augustin Daly's theatre Miss Ada Rehan not only played Katherine in *The Taming of the Shrew* with a perfection never witnessed by any Londoner before then, but in other parts showed her power of combining slight personal peculiarities, a drawl of voice and a little nervous movement of an eyelid to produce an artistically harmonious effect. With this lady were associated other lights of the New York boards: Mr. John Drew, himself the son of a famous actress, Mr. James Lewis, and the prince of walking gentlemen, Mr. Barrymore, who had also for some time shown his aptitude for character parts like Henry Irving's Rawdon Scudamore in *Hunted Down*, or his Doricourt in *The Belle's Stratagem* at the St. James's Theatre (1866). That early triumph caused one of the audience, George Eliot herself, to say, "This man, by sheer brain-power and strength of will, putting art altogether on one side, will be as he goes on the

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most compelling figure on the London stage." Irving's personal magnetism did as much as his artistic quality to complete the friendly understanding between players and playgoers on both sides of the Atlantic which long before this had effaced all the unpleasant memories already mentioned—from those of *The Pilot* episode at the Adelphi to the Macready and Forrest riots.

"Organise the theatre," had been the advice given by Matthew Arnold in one of his American discourses, 1883. The counsel was the outcome of experience, and had been suggested by the United States visit of Henry Irving, paid about the same time as that of Arnold himself. Irving's London success had gratified the Americans because of its transatlantic associations. Miss Bateman's "hit" with "Leah" at the Adelphi, 1863, brought her father from his native Baltimore to a place among London managers; while as yet Henry Irving had scarcely reached the threshold of fame with any section of the Anglo-Saxon public. Colonel Bateman had heard of the success at an obscure Paris theatre of a piece called *The Polish Jew*. He had also witnessed the effect produced by Irving's public recitals of Hood's *Eugene Aram*. With equal insight and enterprise Bateman united America, England and France in the opportunity which, as a Lyceum lessee, he found for Irving as Mathias in *The Bells*. The translator of the piece into English was a Bohemian and artistically-minded solicitor, Leopold Lewis; the morbid psychology read into the play, completely changing its motive, was Irving's own, and Bateman saw the prospect of a success not discerned by other impresarios of his time. French actors like Coquelin and Talien had already played Mathias, and another London dramatist, F. C. Burnand, had actually produced the play, by the title of *Paul Zegers*, a few nights before *The Bells* came out at the Lyceum and Henry Irving electrified the house with

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his exclusively original representation of Mathias as a conscience-haunted man, whose agony is the unquenched fire and undying worm of his waking hours, and colours the dreams that torture him in his sleep. At one of Irving's stage banquets on the Lyceum boards an American critic of the party asked an English fellow-guest frankly what he considered the secret of the actor's power and success. Then, answering his own question, "We in the States consider it his inexhaustible command of facial expression; not the contortions of countenance that are tricks of art, but the changes of expression spontaneously indicating intensity of feeling and play of brain-power." That opinion united playgoers capable of judging on both sides of the Atlantic. Samuel Johnson used to say that no one could stand in a shed, taking shelter from the rain, for ten minutes with Edmund Burke, without knowing himself to be in the presence of an extraordinary mind. On his first visit to the second Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, as Irving entered the drawing-room, a murmur ran round, "Disraeli risen from the dead!" A famous American writer then visiting England, and happening to be of the Strathfieldsaye party, volunteered a remark which some of those who were in the habit of meeting the men indicated will understand. "The three Englishmen," he said, "who have given me a sense of overawing intellectual power are: first and above all, Lord Beaconsfield; secondly, Morell Mackenzie, the throat specialist; thirdly, Henry Irving." Such an estimate united many Old and New World ideas on the subject, even as the great actor's eldest son, Mr. H. B. Irving, has inherited something more from his father than mere genius. An instinctive interest to some extent recalling that of Bulwer Lytton in the *bizarrierie* of the criminal temperament first prompted the father to study for recitation not only the text of Hood's dramatic poem already mentioned, but the character

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and course of the leaden-eyed, hollow-cheeked usher who had committed murder in his dream. The son, inspired partly by his professional studies at the Bar, partly, too, by his family associations with the Somerset scene of the "Bloody Assize," indulged a taste for paradox and an ingenuity in special pleading by "whitewashing" Judge Jeffreys. Since then, with literary results more considerable, working in a somewhat similar vein, he has made contributions to the literature of crime whose wealth of material would make the fortune of a writer manipulating the details with the skill of the great novelist who wrote *Paul Clifford*.

The early native literature of America had been predominantly religious and largely mystical. Gradually the spiritual element was overgrown by the secular; but the taste for the eerie and the *outré* remained. This was gratified, kept alive and nourished by writers in the era following Washington Irving, who so adapted the diction and portraiture of Addison to the life and character of the New World that he invested it with an originality all his own, and made it racy of the American soil. The establishment of the United States constitution towards the eighteenth century's close was accompanied and promoted by an outburst of political writing, particularly Alexander Hamilton's and James Madison's *Federalist*, linking it closely with the political philosophy whose exposition by John Locke and Sir Roger L'Estrange made the revolution of 1688 a landmark in English letters as well as in politics. Subsequently to this, Anglo-Saxon authorship on both sides of the Atlantic ran at some points a parallel course. In England dissertations on the art and ethics of government were succeeded by William Godwin's fantastic or grotesque conceptions in imaginative efforts like *Caleb Williams*, *Fleetwood*, *Mandeville* and *Cloudesley*. *The Federalist* became a text-book or a reference work much studied at Oxford

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by Honours candidates in the Classical and Philosophical schools. Meanwhile American writers had hit on and were working out a lighter vein, with a tendency towards metaphysical speculation more or less directed towards the unseen world. This temper or taste was not confined to the western side of the Atlantic. It goes some way towards explaining, as it was in turn deepened by, the popularity increasingly won by the then two most famous of Anglo-Saxon poets, Robert Browning and Edgar Allan Poe. During the early 'fifties Browning and the poetess, his wife, were the central figures of the intellectual English colony at Florence. Both took much interest in the poetry of Poe, whose reputation had been made by *The Raven*, 1845, and who died four years afterwards. His tales had won notoriety abroad as well as at home, and in France had influenced the rising talent of Boisgobey and Gaboriau, some time before *The Raven* formed the foundation of a world-wide poetic fame. He had been partly educated in the Old World, at Stoke Newington. His English admirers therefore claimed a share in his production: in both worlds he prepared the literary appetite for a poet practically his contemporary, though in time three years his junior. This was the already-mentioned Robert Browning, the Briton who united the great Western Republic in admiring comprehension of his genius, wider and deeper than the kindred sentiments excited in the United Kingdom by Poe. Browning indeed soon became an American favourite so universal, the eponymous idol of so many Boston or New York coteries and "societies," that he and his wife were constantly spoken of as national products; and highly cultivated Yankees visiting the old country were heard patriotically to complain that his writings, an unfailing piece of drawing-room furniture in the States, were so little in evidence on this side of the Atlantic.

The veteran George Ticknor already referred to,

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when late in life visiting Oxford for his D.C.L., across the walnuts and the wine of more than one common-room had something to say about the rebirth of nineteenth-century verse in the persons of Browning and Poe. Both were born in that period of inspiring exaltation which added the United States to the nations of the world. Never was an age so favourable to intellectual stimulation generally, and in particular to the free play of different intellectual idiosyncrasies. How and whence, it may be asked, did a middle-class young man in a commonplace suburb like Camberwell, never moving far outside his own sphere, acquire his uncanny understanding of strange, passionate, perverse men and women, and an insight into human souls with whom he had never been brought into personal touch? His own always easy circumstances, early success, freedom in study and work, innate turn for the sensational, and the accidental opening to him of the Rabbinical writings, out-of-the-way learning, and especially the Latin poets of the Silver Age,—this was Ticknor's account of the circumstances and forces that made Browning. Poe stumbled by chance upon some reading of the same sort, and inherited from his Irish ancestors a passion for effect, secured in his case by an abounding vocabulary, a mastery of rhyme and rhythm, a temperamental and even morbid loathing of the commonplace. Germans have sometimes persuaded themselves that Shakespeare's genealogy, if accurately and minutely traced, would reveal a family connection with the Fatherland; because "no one without some Teuton antecedents could have written *Hamlet*." Robert and Elizabeth Browning's works were on every American bookshelf or table some time before they were equally familiar in England. Hence the popular transatlantic superstition that both were American-born poets. So by parity of reasoning both Herbert Spencer and Matthew Arnold found in the New World admiration so much earlier and more extensive

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than in their own country, that the better sort of British tourist in the States during the lifetime of those master minds became something of a New York or Boston lion if he produced proof of personal acquaintance with them.

In the department of nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon poetry and *belles lettres*, the great republic of the far West, on February 27, 1807, produced at Portland, in the state of Maine, the most widely-felt and lasting, as well as the most cosmopolitan, of the literary forces that make the two nations one. From the age of Chaucer to that of Shakespeare and Milton the literary influences of Continental Europe established themselves in English letters. Between one and two centuries afterwards the asylum and land of promise for the rest of the world beyond the Atlantic provided its writers with the old European inspiration, conveyed to it not so much by books as by the thousands who migrated to its shores. Born a little more than an entire generation after Wordsworth, Longfellow had breathed the poetic atmosphere of the Rydal bard, had known the charm of Shelley's idealism, and followed through its successive phases the Hellenic knight-errantry of Byron, without coming under the spell of any of them or taking them more for his examples than Homer and the Homeridæ. A new world, a nation in the process of making, therefore concerned chiefly with the practical arts, derived its lineage, emotional, intellectual, social and political, from a fusion of different peoples at diverse periods. Longfellow began his European travels, at the age of nineteen, in 1826; he studied most of the racial elements composing the United States aggregate in their original homes. He steeped himself in their different literatures. When, therefore, in early middle-age (1840) he settled down to regular work with his pen, methodical experience combined with native genius to make him the earliest great interpreter of

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his fellow-citizens and of his age, first in his prose-pieces (1839 and 1849), then in the poetry which constitutes his chief fame, and which touched the hearts and minds of innumerable readers throughout the whole English-speaking world. And while the picturesque homeliness of the humbler poet whose songs, as he himself said, "gushed from his heart" ("The Day is Done"), attached Old World and New World households equally to himself and each other, Thomas Carlyle's American successor, R. W. Emerson, was delivering his gospel of human character, life, conduct and thought to a more select audience, the sons and daughters of culture, separated indeed by the ocean barrier but brought together through the agency of mind. Plato saw but one possibility of compensating good for the intellectual evils wrought by democracy. There was just a chance that minds adapted for the higher kind of speculation would take shelter behind the hedge of philosophy, while the storm of political violence, corruption and intrigue swept by. Almost exactly contemporary with each other, Longfellow and Emerson may be regarded as exemplifying the Platonic view in an American environment. Both sought and found relief from the social or political heat or noise of their time in the atmosphere, the personages and places of mediæval Europe, the legend-haunted ruins on the Rhine, the dim traditions and decaying relics of unfrequented or forgotten Flemish or Belgian towns. A yearning for the same kind of intellectual alternative shows itself in Longfellow's brother-bards, even in those so racy of the Yankee soil as J. R. Lowell, John Hay and even Bret Harte. Hay's little legacy of verse (*The Pike County Ballads*), opening with the spirited and pre-eminently national "Jim Bludso," contains the contemplatively cosmopolitan songs of travel, followed by "The Law of Death," a miniature of Indian mysticism, and ends with "Mount Tabor" and "Sinai and Calvary." And

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the melodious humorist of "the heathen Chinese" proved his mastery of a very different vein in "The Mission Dolores."

One of the names just mentioned denotes a landmark in something more than the literary relations of Old Glory with the Union Jack. In 1893 the United States Ministry improved itself into an Embassy; the chancery was then removed from 123 Victoria Street, where it had been for nearly thirty years, to 4 Grosvenor Gardens. The offices beneath that roof were supplemented by two or three other contiguous buildings during the War. At Grosvenor Gardens the first Ambassador, Mr. T. F. Bayard, was succeeded in 1897 by John Hay, whose Embassy, for reasons presently to be mentioned, had associations recalling the dawn of American history. First, however, there must be some little retrospect of United States representation at the Court of St. James's, as in English social life, during the period separating its commencement in the decade following the Declaration of Independence to the already-mentioned year that gave the ambassadorial title to the British resident at Washington and the American resident in London. Of those composing this last class,¹ the fourth in order, James, eventually President Monroe (1803-6), brought to his office in the old country personal qualities linking him with not only the most statesmanlike and able, but the most agreeable and popular of his successors. The vivid memories of Lord North did not predispose any class in the great republic of the West favourably towards the English peerage. Monroe's transparent sincerity, clearness of purpose and language, gradually won over to him the two Foreign Office chiefs, Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards

¹ A complete list of the American Ministers, beginning with John Adams (1785) and ending with Robert T. Lincoln (1889), will be found in the Appendix to this Chapter, which also gives the Ambassadors who followed.

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Lord Liverpool, and Lord Harrowby, the two not particularly easy types of aristocratic official with whom he had to deal. Never, also, within then living memory had any envoy from a foreign state so commended himself to the popular taste. In his European wanderings he had picked up a faithful polyglot body-servant who was also a first-rate cook. At his Mayfair little house in the street, Seamore Place, where lived long years afterwards another transatlantic diplomatist, Monroe gave the pleasantest dinners, marked by a certain *cachet* of originality as regards both cuisine and company. The latter sometimes included George Canning, whose "calling in the New World" twenty years later to "redress the balance of the Old" inspired Monroe when President with the international doctrine made famous by his name. After Monroe, and before the ambassadorial period began, there came twenty-five Ministers, most of them well received in London, and several remarkably distinguished for their personal presence, accomplishments and intellectual gifts. Of these endowments none possessed a more striking combination than J. L. Motley, the historian of the Dutch Republic, after that of the United Netherlands, published during his London residence. He was no stranger to his English hosts when his official term began. The Court of the Dutch capital had been made by Queen Sophie, wife of the William III who subsequently married our Duchess of Albany's sister, the cosmopolitan meeting-ground of letters, art and culture. There, when acquiring local colour for his books, Motley was among the most distinguished men of the New World who blended their lights with those of the Old, and there he met great soldiers like Lord Napier of Magdala; statesmen such as Lord Clarendon; Lord Houghton, the literary Amphitryon of his day; and W. E. H. Lecky, the historian, who at the Dutch Court found a wife among his

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hostess's maids of honour in Baroness Elizabeth de Dedem.

When, as full-blown representative at the British Court, Motley first entered a famous English drawing-room he produced the profoundest impression by what Milnes, in a murmur to Lady Ashburton, called "the Apollo-like beauty of his head, the grace of his movements, the musical clearness of his voice, free from the faintest transatlantic touch." During these years the American Ministers here were united by closer links with the City than with Whitehall. "If," said Lord Granville, "one wants to know why such serious City interests are entrusted to men who are after all but amateurs, let him look at the overpoweringly handsome features and the winning manners of an envoy like Motley."

Motley's immediate successor, Robert C. Schenck, witnessed and even promoted a notable strengthening of the friendly bonds connecting the two countries. In 1871 the ashes of the Chicago fire had scarcely cooled when there met at Willis's rooms the best-known types of every class and interest for co-operating with their kin beyond sea in repairing the loss inflicted by the disaster on the commerce of the world, and in rebuilding the city whose destruction meant a loss of £40,000,000. Socially it may be said of the United States Ministry that the best wine was left to the last. For of those sent by the White House to St. James's Palace none ever assimilated himself to his European environment with success more complete or brilliant than J. R. Lowell, who saw in social life under the English monarchy the best kind of republic possible, and who throughout his five years' sojourn here was regarded less as an intellectual ornament of the diplomatic circle than as the author of the *Biglow Papers*. From 1885-9 the Lowells were followed by Mr. and Mrs. Phelps, than whom no couple from "over there" ever left behind on their

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departure a memory of wider and more unanimous affection. The list of American Ministers could not have ended more auspiciously than with Robert T. Lincoln, son of the famous President, trusted and beloved in his own country as no one had ever been since George Washington; recommended to every class of Briton by his inaugural speech (March 1865), and always looked upon in this country as its closest kinsman, whose despatches and addresses showed a mastery of Anglo-Saxon idiom placing him on the same literary level as Bunyan, Cobbett and Defoe. How great were the services of all these men to Anglo-Saxon unity will be the more clearly seen when it is remembered that during by far the most of their time the amalgamating process that marked the nineteenth century had made very little advance. Inter-marriage had still to unite the two countries to any far-reaching extent, and to soften into social relationship the ties, so far commercial rather than political, which drew them together. The essential vitality of that *rapprochement* was shown by its survival of British sympathy with the Southern cause during the American Civil War. The English Court, the entire forces of society and the great mass of popular feeling were dead against the North. In the Press Mr. Frederic Harrison and his Positivist followers did what they could to stem the popular tide, but the *Spectator* was the one paper of first-class importance standing for the Union throughout.

After the war two little social incidents showed a remnant of anti-Federalist feeling. Among the Britons of quality then touring on the other side was Lord Hartington, who died eighth Duke of Devonshire (1908); though a private member of Parliament, he passed already for a Whig leader; he was fêted wherever he went. At one of the most magnificent balls given in his honour the belle of the evening was a young lady who wore the Southern colours, and who

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was the illustrious guest's partner in more than one dance. Shortly afterwards the head of the Cavendishes was observed walking through a quadrille with the insignia of the vanquished cause attached to his coat. How had it come about? In this way: he had done much travelling and had "sat out" a dance by the side of the belle in the conservatory. Inheriting through a long line of ancestors the family somnolence, he dropped off to sleep; the lady saw her opportunity—quick as thought she transferred the ribbons from her own person to the unconscious Marquis.

The American Press had of course been ruffled by the undisguised preference of fashionable London for the Confederate cause, and was prepared to resent the parade of this feeling by the heir to an historic dukedom. The details gradually leaked out, and the journalists good-humouredly enjoyed the joke. So, too, as regards another little occurrence of the same kind. Nathaniel Hawthorne's former associate in the Brook Farm colony, George Ripley, eminent for his genial temper and polished manners, while Lord Hartington was in the States, visited London and called on Carlyle, who, apropos of the Federal policy, told him with his accustomed pleasantness that the Northern Government were "hurrying their people down into Tophet, into a very Inferno of calamity and shame!" (Justin M'Carthy's *Reminiscences*, I. 50). "Chelsea Sage Insults the Stars and Stripes!" was the heading of the paragraph in a transatlantic "society" sheet recording this interview, out of which, in the then international temper, bad blood might easily have arisen. Dr. Ripley, however, treated the whole matter as a joke. Writing to a friend about his call in Cheyne Row, he said, "I found the sage in his most charming, because his most characteristic, temper." By this time, indeed, the prevailing mood and manner were universally known

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and understood : in another home letter Ripley could tell how at a recent dinner-party Henry Reeve, registrar of the Privy Council, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, a man of really noble presence, had been holding forth in his most didactic and pontifical vein on a variety of subjects. Carlyle quietly listened to it all; presently he broke silence with the amazing words, in his broadest Scotch : " Eh, man ! but ye're a poor, weak, meeserable, ignorant, peetiful critter ! "

Thus in two cases Yankee readiness and tactful amiability turned evil into good, and added a new social link to the chain of Anglo-American amity and goodwill.

One special omen for good marked, as has been already said, the adoption of the ambassadorial style on the part of England at Washington, of the United States at St. James's Palace. Our Republican kinsmen had long hoped they might some day possess the earliest sources of the ancestral account describing their forefathers' voyage from the old Plymouth to the new. This document, it had always been believed, was among the Bishop of London's archives at Fulham Palace. There, late in the term of Mr. T. F. Bayard's residence here, it was found; lodged with him on March 25, 1897, it reached, some two months later, Governor Wolcott of Massachusetts. Thus its interest was fresh in the international mind when Mr. Bayard had given place to Colonel Hay. This stage of its history united the nineteenth century's middle and closing years. For Bishop Samuel Wilberforce knew exactly where it might be found as far back as 1844, and the twentieth century had almost come when it was actually produced. The *Mayflower* log, though published in book-form, received perhaps less attention than might have been expected in the tercentenary twelvemonth of the occurrences to which it relates. This historic find has been embodied in a popular volume amid other printed matter from long

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unpublished sources. It supplied a text for a valuable and exhaustive essay on the religious movement of the times in the October, 1920, *Quarterly Review*. That masterly composition naturally did not dwell upon the personal aspects of the voyage across the Atlantic, some details concerning which, and not, I think, already extensively reproduced, may very briefly be given now. "All being compact together in one ship," with Captain Jones in command, the party bade farewell to the old home on September 6, 1620; on the 11th of November, in the harbour of Cape Cod, they knelt down in thankfulness for reaching the land of hope rather than, as it first seemed, of promise. Whatever the patiently-endured privations of the passage, its casualties were less severe than might have been expected. Death had not reduced the total of the pilgrims. During the voyage, indeed, there had died one of the seamen, notorious for his profane language. The passengers also were diminished by the loss of William Butten, Dr. Fuller's servant. That loss, however, was made good by a birth; an infant appropriately christened Oceanus Hopkins. Thus the disembarkation at Cape Cod included the same number of Separatists from the Anglican Church as had been taken on board in the home harbour some two months before. Damage to ship or boat there may have been, but "no falling of an hair from the head" of any of them. The pilgrims therefore acknowledged the Divine protection which had brought them safely to their destination. Even so, as they had encouraged themselves by reading and re-reading in their Testament on the high seas, had the same overruling Providence, just 1,559 years before, defended St. Paul and his company on the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas till all stepped ashore at Melita. The "no little kindness" shown by the native barbarians on the earlier occasion was wanting to the fugitives from Stuart despotism

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in Church and State from the aborigines of the Massachusetts coast. That "desolate and hideous" region was peopled by "wild beasts and wild men" whose consideration for the new-comers was at most shown by not actually attacking them. No time was lost in the formation of an exploring party; this, armed with fowling-pieces and hunting-knives, came across not only deer, geese and maize in sufficiency for present needs, but also certain decayed structures containing implements that formed, as they thought, a rude evidence of Christian handiwork. The work of raising habitations was not, perhaps, as slow as might have been expected from the difficulties of the task. Six weeks after their landing they had felled timber and improvised other necessary materials in quantities that enabled them to begin building their homes. Thus began and continued the successive stages of a development almost recalling Cardinal Newman's words (*The Dream of Gerontius*, 1873 edn., p. 39) :—

" And quickened by the Almighty's breath,
And chastened by His rod,
And taught by angel-visitations,
At length he sought his God ;

And learned to call upon His name,
And in His faith create
A household and a fatherland,
A city and a state."

Wordsworth has commemorated this event in his ecclesiastical sonnets. It is also more fully and exactly described in the most graphic and spirited, if largely unknown, verses by the little-read poetess Felicia Hemans, beginning :

" The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast. . . ."

The intellectual element in the onward and upward movement merged itself at first in, and grew out of,

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the spiritual. Naturally and necessarily, it grew to maturity much more slowly than the material. Not that even from the first the transatlantic Muses had been entirely silent or uninvoked. For the best part of a hundred years their strains, chiefly audible, echoed and re-echoed the notes of the spiritual mysticism which, beginning in the Elizabethan period, filled both the Old World and the New World atmosphere throughout most of the seventeenth century. The singers did not so much unite the two countries, as form the product of a poetic taste and temper which made the two peoples one. The writers were English, like the printers who received from the other side of the ocean the copy that they set up. The first secular pieces of writing on a purely American subject were by a Briton of Lincolnshire birth, Captain John Smith, who had made a special study of Virginian affairs. Some hundred years afterwards Benjamin Franklin modelled his vigorously simple Anglo-Saxon style on that of the Old World seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxon masters; he thus laid the foundation of an authorship whose growth, popular acceptance and usefulness soon levelled all distinctions of climate or race, and were reckoned among the possessions in common of the whole English-speaking world. Meanwhile the New World had enriched political philosophy with those compositions, conspicuously *The Federalist*, of which mention has been already made. Since then the internationalism of successive epochs has been traversed by a vein of literary association. American diplomacy from Franklin's time onwards had recruited its personnel from the writing craft. The twentieth century witnessed the adoption of this precedent in the case of our representative at Washington, 1907-13, Lord Bryce, the most conspicuous among our ambassadorial successes belonging to that period. After the literary giants sent from the other side to the

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Court of St. James's came one who, without any pretensions to their fame, combined with polemical and business qualifications a highly cultivated mind and discriminating literary taste. Dr. Walter Hines Page, when as a stranger he first reached London, found a few acquaintances here who knew something of his character and fitness for his work. On his departure he left behind him the warmest friends among all with whom he had personal dealings, and not a single enemy. His withdrawal was regarded as a national loss, that deepened into a personal sorrow when it became known that his life could not be prolonged. No one filling such a position in this country ever bore himself with such patient, kindly courage in the face of difficulties that might well have seemed desperate. For at that crisis of the war a supposed delay in the despatch of American troops to Europe raised doubts with the thoughtless multitude of the American government's good faith. Dr. Page had not only to dispose of that suspicion in the city of his residence, but was beset by perplexing circumstances in the land of his birth. American feeling was far from unanimous for intervention in the war. President Wilson looked upon Dr. Page as something of an Anglomaniac, was even thought to be not too well pleased with his envoy's undiluted and proclaimed sympathies with the British cause. On the other hand, Page's devotion to the Anglo-American entente added to the bond of international amity a link that survived his own life. A man of letters by taste, Page was a publisher by profession. On his death-bed he sent for his partner, Doubleday. "Now," he said, "that I am called away, your first business and that of the firm must always be to let no opportunity slip of knitting more closely this country and England." The charge thus delivered by the dying ex-Ambassador to his old business associate has not been neglected by his London successors. For Page

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himself the international ground had been well prepared by those who came after Hay, the tactful, able, kindly as well as uniformly successful Joseph H. Choate (1899-1905) and Whitelaw Reid (1905-13). Each of these, like Page himself, was so well known in the capital to which he was accredited as to secure the welcome less of a highly introduced new-comer than of an old friend. Choate's successor, Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune*, especially had been for many years as well known in the social and literary life of London as in that of his own country. This singularly charming, handsome and variously gifted man had in his youth co-operated with other American *litterateurs* and diplomatists to found a little dining club, the "Kinsmen," which in 1858 began to have its membership in both countries among their painters, actors and writers.

The extra-official intermediaries of the Anglo-Saxon race included others who may now be mentioned. During the Victorian age there were no American diners-out more pleasant in their person and talk than General Grant Wilson, with his headquarters at the Athenæum, and Samuel Ward, the universal "Uncle Sam" of the English-speaking race, the king of the lobby at Washington and the prince of epicures at Delmonico's, as well as the tame cat of many among the most desirable abodes in Mayfair, the St. James's Street district and Belgravia. With him as regards time, though always independently of him, there came his clever sister, Mrs. Ward Howe, the political champion of her sex as well as chapel pulpiteer and the poetess who wrote the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

The years now recalled witnessed the triumphant progress to social supremacy on the Thames of the smart American colony with its exquisite intellectual ornaments, novelists like Henry James and Marion Crawford. Some time before that, in 1873, there had begun the personal friendship between the Press of

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the two countries, gradually growing to such intimacy that at one of the great banquets given during the Vienna Exhibition a partially Americanised Briton, Edmund Yates, the novelist, of *The World*, then representing *The New York Herald*, returned thanks for the toast of the American Press. Yates after that engaged as City writer for his paper Louis J. Jennings, who, beginning as one of Delane's leader-writers at Printing House Square, had taken up an American daily editorship and distinguished himself by his attacks upon the Tammany ring. On his re-settlement in London he became a regular Quarterly Reviewer, much valued by the Conservative chiefs of the time. A pleasant, sympathetic writer of fine descriptive power, he did not a little by his word-pictures of English scenery to revive the interest of the New World in the rural life, special localities and characters of the Old.

What the newspapers on both sides have agreed to call "Mayflowering" has supplied a new anecdotal if not spiritual nexus. No one has done more to unite the Congregational pulpits of the two peoples than Dr. Jowett, who, it is now recalled, once told a Fifth Avenue congregation that Abraham's children were those who did Abraham's works. This drew from one of the worshippers the whispered remark, "I guess he was getting at those who talk too much of their family!" Of all Anglo-American links forged by commanding public spirit, rare opportunities and special gifts, the twentieth century had long seen the most notable as well as the most beneficent in the Scottish-born boy whose emigrant parents took him in his twelfth year from his native Dunfermline to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to lay the foundations of a wealth that, when he reached early middle age, approached the fabulous, whose benefactions to his birthplace were followed by the equipments added to the Bellevue Hospital, New York, who began at

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Alleghany and Pittsburgh those library creations, extended afterwards wherever he discerned real desert or need throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. Andrew Carnegie by his millions and by his conception of the philanthropy which those millions made his paramount duty, not only bridged the ocean separating his two homes; he personified in his presence, features and manner the characteristics of both peoples. The wonderfully expressive blue eyes, lighting up the thoughts of the brain behind them, belonged to the land of his birth. Their habitual expression of hard, masterful decision served as key to the character that, whatever the subject in hand might be, declared the conclusion reached with the invariable accompaniment of a wagging forefinger. For only a born autocrat could have placed himself so early in the front rank of multi-millionaires. Not only his will but the passing whim of the moment was law. The Skibo hospitalities were on a scale proportionate to the host's wealth. The guests, however, especially the occasional ones, could not but feel that they were dragooned as well as entertained. The eyes excepted, the physiognomy, like the little, wiry, mobile figure, the pointed nose and chin, were altogether Yankee. The sense of his responsibilities and the obligations of his wealth throughout his career and after it, in his bequests, were entirely his own. Carnegie indeed, whether driving a Gladstonian party in an American four-in-hand, organising a fund for *Emeriti* professors or planning high jinks at Skibo, always went his own way and paraded his "no connection" with any of his compatriots in the Croesus line of business. He would not give the approval of his presence to the Satterlee-Pierpont Morgan wedding, when the daughter of another billionaire was led to the altar of St. George's Church, New York, by a young American lawyer whom Carnegie rather liked, with a splendour that turned

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the bride's Madison Square home into Aladdin's palace at a cost of £30,000; the flowers alone cost the bride's father £2,500; the bride's going-away dress represented a modest £1,000, her trousseau exactly ten times that sum. The poor parson who tied the knot came in last with a paltry £200. Other details of the programme showed less disregard for expense; so that a trifle less than £60,000 would have covered the total outlay. The nuptial cement of the "Almighty dollar" has shown itself in the possibility, if not the fact, of an international marriage calculated, as it seemed, without any royal protest, to promote a New York family to a place in the *Almanach de Gotha*. Some time ago the Duke of Abruzzi might, it was thought, marry the daughter and heiress of Senator Elkins. No one on either side prognosticated evil from an unequal match, as the Society seers did so freely when the Duke of Sussex married the fourth Lord Dunmore's daughter. Austrian aristocracy, the most exclusive in the world, showed the new feeling in these matters when the Countess Sophie Chotek, not only married, with her father-in-law's consent, the nephew and heir of the Austrian Emperor, but, after the most cordial reception at Court, received from Francis Joseph the title of Princess Hohenberg.

In the same spirit, but with more demonstrative approval and even delight, did every section, not only of English, but European society, receive in the last month of 1921 the news of our own Princess Mary's betrothal to Viscount Lascelles, heir to the Harewood Earldom.

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APPENDIX

UNITED STATES MINISTERS TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

John Adams . . .	1785	George Bancroft . . .	1846
Thomas Pinckney . . .	1792	Abbot Lawrence . . .	1849
Rufus King . . .	1796	Joseph R. Ingersoll . . .	1852
James Monroe . . .	1803	James Buchanan . . .	1853
William Pinckney . . .	1806	George M. Dallas . . .	1856
John Quincy Adams . . .	1815	Charles Francis Adams . . .	1861
Richard Rush . . .	1817	Reverdy Johnson . . .	1868
Rufus King . . .	1825	John Lothrop Motley . . .	1869
Albert Gallatin . . .	1826	Robert C. Schenck . . .	1871
James Barbour . . .	1828	Edwards Pierrepont . . .	1876
Louis McLane . . .	1829	John Welsh . . .	1877
Martin van Buren . . .	1831	James Russell Lowell . . .	1880
Andrew Stevenson . . .	1836	Edward J. Phelps . . .	1885
Edward Everett . . .	1841	Robert T. Lincoln . . .	1889
Louis McLane . . .	1845		

UNITED STATES AMBASSADORS TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

Thomas F. Bayard . . .	1893	Walter Hines Page . . .	1913
John Hay . . .	1897	John William Davis . . .	1918
Joseph H. Choate . . .	1899	Col. George Harvey . . .	1921
Whitelaw Reid . . .	1905		

CHAPTER VIII

TRANS-OCEANIC LINKS

Anglo-Saxon culture as a link between three continents—The socio-intellectual relationship uniting two Atlantic shores—Mr. Moreton Frewen and the late Allan Thorndike Rice—Their travels, literary and educational associations—The growth of the American element in English society, literature and art—James Whistler—His defiance of the Ruskinian artistic canons—How he weathered the storm of the 1878 *cause célèbre*—The fashionable cult of the law-court—The growth of the Whistler tradition among European painters—Laurence Oliphant's word-pictures of Near East travel—His realistic impressionism sets the nineteenth-century fashion of travel-writing—The smart twentieth-century American freakishness foreshadowed in the brilliant eccentricities of Disraeli's Vavasour—The fashion set by Jacob Astor's daughter-in-law, the nineteenth-century Mrs. Astor—The competitresses for social succession to her—The common tastes of English and American readers—The international cement of Anglo-American society marriages—Growth of colonial popularity at home—The American season in London followed closely by the Australian—The colonies feature in the Diamond Jubilee foreground—The cult of the colonies and its nineteenth-century promoters—Australian open-air life and its influences on the old home—The link of the Turf: Melbourne Cup Day and the Epsom Derby—The two island races under the sway of King Willow—World championships on river and in the tennis-court—Australian journalism's birthplace at Sydney; its development and spread—The seventeenth-century fathers of the Press, Nedham, Birkenhead and L'Estrange, find their Australian parallels in Howe, Wentworth and Fawkner—H. E. Watts makes the *Melbourne Argus*—Growth of American influences in Antipodean journalism—Independent Australian authorship, beginning with Barron Field's *Firstfruits*, introduced to home readers by Charles Lamb—William Howitt and

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"Orion" Horne—Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, at the Sydney Bar prepares for his Parliamentary career at home—Henry Kingsley as Anglo-Australian novelist, and his friends—How Lord Salisbury prospected—"The Lost Leader" on both sides of the world: a pair of Camberwell celebrities—Adam Lindsay Gordon—Patriot-poets of world-wide inspiration—Nineteenth-century movements towards Colonial federation completed by the Australian Commonwealth's formation (1900)—The new system in working order.

OTHER agencies than those already reviewed helped to unite in the same comity of culture and taste the Anglo-Saxon public not only on both sides of the Atlantic but in the great island continent on the other side of the world. Both hemispheres are thus joined by a common progress in letters and art. The result has been and is that the entire system of human civilisation is pervaded everywhere and in much the same degree by the same forces or fashions, intellectual, æsthetic, social, of which popular culture consists. Of the elements constituting that aggregate, the most familiar among those produced by America have been already mentioned. While Nathaniel Hawthorne and Longfellow yet lived and wrote, a transatlantic artist of the pen as well as of the sculptor's chisel, W. W. Story, made his studio on the Tiber a cosmopolitan centre of the higher interests that were leavening equally the New World and the Old. The inspiration diffused by "*Roba di Roma*" was not confined to Story's literary successors, Henry James and Marion Crawford. Its influences coloured the thoughts, tastes, the conversation and the personalities generally of several nineteenth-century young Americans of station and wealth as well known at London as at New York dining-tables. Conspicuous among these was Clarence King, who had supplemented his extensive travel and reading by researches of great interest into the remains of Latin civilisation on his native continent, as well as condensed these experiences with his studies of life

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and character into pages that owed something of their success to their author's popularity as companion and conversationalist.

During the period now recalled the socio-intellectual relationship of the two countries was pleasantly exemplified by two other gentlemen of about the same age but of widely differing antecedents, as well as of habits of life and pursuits. They were the still happily surviving Moreton Frewen and the late Allan Thorndike Rice. The American visitor and the English resident were both English University men. The latter, descended from an old stock of Midland knights of the shire, had for his Cambridge contemporaries Arthur Balfour and Edward Lyttelton; like his forefathers a notable Meltonian, he had only just taken his degree when he exchanged the shires for a ranch in the Far West. He brought back with him not only an American bride, Lady Randolph Churchill's sister, but the educating results of his shrewd, world-wide observations, and particularly that insight into industrial and economic problems which before him Sir Charles Dilke had found the best of all modern schools. The knowledge thus acquired made him a real acquisition to the House of Commons (1910-11). Since then it has shown itself greatly to the advantage of the thinking public in his occasional letters to the *Spectator* and other high-class journals. His American contemporary Rice, beginning his English experiences at Christ Church, brought with him on his subsequent trips to the old country certain notions then for the first time in process of being acclimatised here. If not actually the first, he was among the earliest of magazine editors to make the "symposium" a feature in their contents. During his short undergraduateship on the Isis he had joined, if not founded, a little essay-writing and debating club by that name. He perpetuated it in the *North American Review*, which, as often on this as on the other side of the Atlantic, he

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conducted after a fashion peculiarly his own. His method of globe-trotting was not only luxurious and costly but, in its way, industrious as well. Whether on sea or shore he received his proofs as regularly as if he had never stirred from his flat in the Knickerbocker building. Wherever he might be he had an open eye and ear for men of all countries who had specialised in some subject of the day, social, scientific, political. If possible he always liked a personal interview; after trying—not, I think, successfully—to fix up an article with Gambetta in Paris, he thought nothing of a journey to Constantinople to commission “copy” from Corti, then Ambassador to the Porte and afterwards Italian Prime Minister. Before this Mr. Gladstone had been secured without difficulty, as well as other British notabilities of the time, if not for the *North American Review*, for a newspaper syndicate, a hobby of Rice’s later days. This prince of periodical impresarios from the Far West left behind him a pleasant memory of literary munificence and sumptuous hospitalities, but no magazine Monte Cristo to take his place. The exceedingly sharp literary representatives from the other side who are Rice’s successors to-day are not for the most part their own principals, and therefore not so entirely regardless of expense.

Meanwhile, Yankeeism—to use a convenient if not strictly accurate colloquialism¹—had been winning fresh triumphs in every department of English life. Those, it used to be said, who had never heard Lord Granville, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Houghton talk together, did not know what

¹ “Yankee” is largely a misapplied term. It never meant a United States citizen as distinguished from a foreigner, but a native of New England, in opposition to a Virginian, a Kentuckian, etc. It no doubt originated in the difficulty the Indian aborigines found in pronouncing the name of the nation to which the chief European settlers belonged.

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good conversation was. The same kind of personal impression made by Henry Irving on and off the stage in the United States as well as here was followed by a revival of interest in all Shakespearean literature. This revived the study of the mid-nineteenth century lectures of the Pennsylvanian Professor, Henry Reed, who did more than any of the German commentators towards popularising an intelligent appreciation of the great Elizabethan, and of his work and times. Socially, Lady Randolph Churchill had done much towards supplanting the old aristocratic domination by the smartness whose genesis and growth found their recorder in Laurence Oliphant. This strange compound of Anglo-French satire and American enthusiasm was followed by another oddity of genius, James Whistler, a cosmopolitan cross between the Paris *gamin* and the American humorist, the contagious eccentricities of whose art did much towards creating the cult of Anglo-American freakishness. James Whistler's reputation was made quite as much by his appearance, manner and conversation as by his art. In those respects he had a good deal in common with Henry Labouchere. Both required a personal butt. This was found by Whistler sometimes in well-known English masters of his art, but more frequently in his censors of the Press. Then it was that, having been placed on the defensive by some chance remark, he suddenly roused himself from a sort of drawling somnolence, and with some pointed, often really instructive, illustration, explained his own position as intermediary between the artists of his native land and those belonging both to England and the European continent. It was often all very cleverly done, and his conversational reviews more than once supplied a text to French critics on what they called the internationalism of the studio. His portraits, especially that of Carlyle—bought (1891) by the Glasgow Corporation—were justly said by the shrewd, super-

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fine W. H. Hurlbert to have done more than any pen-and-ink description, in some cases personal acquaintance itself, towards familiarising the United States and other countries with the features and character of their originals. Meanwhile, his talk in congenial surroundings concentrated its irreverent drolleries and gibes upon those whose art criticism, as he put it, consisted of saying "Ditto" to Mr. Ruskin. That venerable teacher of the studio was, however, biding his time; he persisted in underrating a really dangerous enemy, who was supported by the whole strength of the smart American colony on the Thames and a good many English admirers of the smiling and aggressive cynicism that brought him prosperously through the trying vicissitudes of an opposed career in the land and capital of his adoption to the triumph that may incidentally be recalled. Ruskin, like Frederic Harrison and the Positivists generally, had been firm for the North during the Civil War. In 1877, however, the cheers of American London were all for Whistler. Ruskin's staunch friendship for the Union counted for nothing in the duel to which he challenged, by his attack on Whistler's "Nocturne in Black and Gold," the Union's artistic champion. The criticism constituting the great teacher's wanton libel on this masterpiece of Impressionism appeared to the following effect in *Fors Clavigera*: "Sir Goutts Lindsay, for Mr. Whistler's sake no less than for the purchaser's protection, ought not to have admitted works into the Gallery in which the ill-educated conceit of the artist so nearly approached the aspect of wilful imposture. I have seen and heard much of Cockney impudence before now, but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face."

The libel action brought by the American "paint-slinger," as the Ruskinians called him, against the

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Great Cham of artistic criticism not only ended in a verdict for the plaintiff, but associated him with an entirely new epoch in the social history of litigation. No *cause célèbre* up to that time had attracted so fashionable a concourse to any law-court. The farthing damages awarded did not carry costs; it gave Whistler, however, something which he valued much more. It secured him an access of notoriety, not only in his own day but in the future, by handing him down and linking him with this twentieth century as the man who helped to convert the tribunal of the judge into the resort of fashion that it has now become whenever a sensational case is on. The Whistler-Ruskin trial foreshadowed also in its turns some elements of that dramatic surprise which to-day forms the chief charm in those judicial revelations of frailty, unhappiness and scandal whose fascinations make the law-court of all places the most irresistible for smart society's field-days.

W. M. Rossetti brought out *The Germ* (Poetry and Art) in 1850; for more than a quarter of a century he had been the accepted oracle of Ruskinian pre-Raphaelitism. Yet on that memorable November 25, 1878, falling away from his old master, he stepped into the witness-box on behalf of the Impressionist "coxcomb." *Esprit de corps* would, it was expected, have ranged the genial painter of "Derby Day," always innocent of anything like professional jealousy, on Whistler's side. Instead he took his place, with the pre-Raphaelite Burne-Jones and Tom Taylor, the literary champion of orthodox artistic tradition, in vindicating Ruskin's judgment and language. W. H. Wills, the right-hand man of Dickens in *Household Words*, was, however, generally expected to go Whistlerian, as he did, because Dickens himself many years earlier (1850) had attacked the pre-Raphaelite school generally, and a youthful painting by Millais, one of its earliest members, "The Carpenter's Shop,"

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in particular. Whistler's triumph did not end here; it carried its memorial to the end of the nineteenth if not to the beginning of the twentieth century. His rapid, unstudied effects, independent of all artistic canons, inspired or encouraged his French brethren of the brush, especially M.M. Dégas, Durand, Manet, Renoir and Ruel. The London exhibition of these artists (1882) was largely Whistler's doing. During the next decade the British public enjoyed a still more extensive opportunity of observing the Whistlerian influence upon many other Continental canvases.

Amongst those who had been expected to give evidence in this case, but who escaped the ordeal, was a nomadic man of genius, already mentioned, whose antecedents, occupations and world-wide experiences connected him with an extraordinary variety of places, persons and interests. As "a rolling stone," his own self-description, Laurence Oliphant, like the fifth Lord Dufferin, the first Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, was the well-born, highly connected product not so much of the class to which he belonged or of its traditional discipline, as of the education which travel constitutes to a strong and original mind. This it is which links Oliphant and his distinguished contemporary with our present Foreign Secretary. Lord Curzon indeed differs from Oliphant in having assimilated all that Oxford and Eton could give before training himself for the Foreign Office by a personal acquaintance with near and far Eastern lands even more extensive than that gathered by Oliphant. Thirty years younger than Oliphant, Lord Curzon, while still a youth, witnessed in Indo-China and Persia Eastern pageants as many and as impressive as those at which Oliphant had assisted. Whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, war no sooner broke out or the signs of trouble and revolution showed themselves than Lord Elgin's former secretary on his China mission hastened to the spot. In 1854

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he was on his way to the Crimea when war broke out. Two years later he was filibustering in Nicaragua. Afterwards in due course he had his place among Garibaldi's Red Shirts; in 1861 he saw Victor Emmanuel crowned King of Italy at Turin. Nor was it only in adventure, locomotion and sight-seeing that this nineteenth-century Ulysses presaged the travels and achievements of those representing at a later date in their performances and tastes much of what is best and most essentially British in the social order to which he belonged. Oliphant's accounts of his Syrian and other wanderings unite him by their artistic simplicity with his friend Kinglake's *Eothen*, as well as, after Kinglake's day, foreshadow the admirable literary effect produced by the Anglo-Saxon record of Mr. G. G. Hogarth's *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, or Sir Ernest Shackleton's *South*. Oliphant's operations in journalism and *belles lettres* connect him more than a generation after his death with the most noticeable movements in these departments of to-day or yesterday. In his later days his active connection with *The Times* had ceased. He left behind him that great newspaper's most famous correspondent whom he had himself discovered, Henri Stephan de Blowitz, the extraordinary man who not only made his position the most famous and powerful on the European Press, but who founded a dynasty of daily historians of feeling and events in the capital with which England has become so closely concerned. Laurence Oliphant's *Piccadilly* (1870) was a clever piece of creative satire upon the persons, manners, morals of his time—colonial bishops, American and Australian plutocrats, then just coming into fashion, as well as others characteristically suggested by his publisher, John Blackwood, as the "'bubble-spawned fellows' who come in and go out with every London season." The world-wide variety of this volume's contents made it a literary link between

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Great and Greater Britain. The author's long acquaintance and spiritual ties with the United States gave it an American welcome, as in some sense a New World product. Since Kinglake's *Eothen* (1844) nothing at all in the same vein and with the same lightness of touch had been written. Seven years passed; *Piccadilly* had been followed by a revival of T. L. Peacock's satirical romances. The originality and success of *Piccadilly* were repeated in Mr. W. H. Mallock's *New Republic*. In the division of *belles lettres* to which all the works just mentioned belong, except perhaps Violet Fane's *Sophy*, there came nothing likely to make a lasting mark before the twentieth century produced in Mr. Max Beerbohm the first of English writers living whose consummate mastery of the whimsical connects him with Charles Lamb. Mr. Beerbohm's more recent predecessors in their particular walk of genius were not what used to be known as "college men."

The Oxford and Harvard Boat Race on the Thames (August 30, 1869) had been followed by a Crystal Palace dinner at which Charles Dickens took the chair, and in the speech of the evening delivered a glowing but not exaggerated panegyric on the national record of that American University. The animated interest in his subject pervading the novelist's entire effort combined with the occasion itself to prepare the way for those later developments nearer to the present day which have done something towards incorporating the academic training not only of America but of Asia into one University system with its headquarters on the Isis. To-day students from the United Kingdom are as well known if not as numerous at Harvard, Yale and Pennsylvania as undergraduates from the States have become at Oxford or Cambridge. During the seventeenth century both these seats of learning were much exercised by the Long Parliament's anti-ecclesiastical legislation. During this an Oxford under-

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graduate of Asiatic origin but of Cretan birth, Nathaniel Canopus of Balliol, brought with him from home the produce of Mocha and put a College servant, one Jacobs, in the way of starting a coffee-house on the site of the present railway station. Between two and three centuries later the descendants of Canopus, from regions more Eastern than his own Mediterranean island, gave an entirely new personal aspect to the High Street. In 1904 American wearers of the cap and gown began to increase and multiply at a rate steadily growing ever since. In 1918-19 the wishes and convenience of transatlantic students were recognised by the institution, through Foreign Office influence, of a new degree, Doctor of Philosophy. Since then fresh links between the Old World and the New World seats of learning have shown themselves in the Harvard movement towards the Oxford or Cambridge tutorial system.

Meanwhile, the Oxford teaching of jurisprudence is specially valued for its facilities of studying that English common law which is the basis of all American laws. Of these undergraduates from the other side, very few settle down to politics in the Old Country. The Oxford course, however, is sometimes considerably prolonged by those who find in it, as in the Forestry School, a special and definite training for a future career. The theological, like the economic and scientific teaching of the place, also frequently protracts the sojourn on the Isis of those who themselves intend to become instructors of others in these branches of knowledge. In this utilitarian age the Greek and Latin classics do not figure prominently in the American curriculum on either side of the Atlantic. But a recent and in his time the highest authority in these matters, the incomparable nineteenth-century Hellenist, Sir R. C. Jebb, gave a high place to more than one scholar in the New World who improved on the tradition established (1797-1867) by Charles

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Anthon. This Columbia University professor is today remembered by a few as the considerate Latin editor whose copious notes and literal translations of difficult passages helped schoolboys over many an awkward place in an imperfectly prepared lesson of Cicero or Virgil. Schoolmasters might complain of there being too much of the crib and too little of the commentary in this annotating apparatus, which, however, by its generous help did more towards creating an intelligent interest in the language and the subject than it ever entered into the thought of Dutch or German dry-as-dusts even to attempt. Anthon, too, formed a link in the chain connecting the severest Teuton with modern Anglo-Saxon classicism. He was Zumpt's pupil at Berlin when as yet Greek and Latin philology were unborn; he had not a little to do with the discovery of Dindorf and that pundit's importation to Oxford. All this, it must be remembered, was before Jowett studied Greek thought in the lives of its masters, or had cast his eye on Max Müller as one of his future professors.

To return to the American undergraduate at the English university, his sister, the Gibson Girl, came into being about the same time as himself. Duly chaperoned by mother, aunt or London cousin of mature years, she found, as she had been led to expect, every State of the Union represented on the Isis. Her patriotic pride was not more gratified by the multiplying signs of her ascendancy in the metropolis than by the national insignia decorating club-room and chambers, especially during the period of the great Republican anniversaries.

She was delighted to find among her brother's guests not only the thrice-nominated Democratic candidate for the Presidency, Mr. W. J. Bryan, but also the three Roosevelt brothers, and to note the interest of the English undergraduate in Kermit's account of the hint for home reform given him by the old home. For these were the three brethren who took the

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initiative in replacing the New York saloon by Brazilian coffee-houses of the old London type. The original of Oliphant's "Altiora Peto" thought her brother's college rooms sadly wanting in decorative knick-knacks, but was delighted by the picturesqueness of the river barge life in the summer term when the eights were on. Her kinsmen should do more to make themselves conspicuous in the crews. Already the Milburns from Buffalo had done what was to be expected from those successors of the Harvard oarsmen who had put up such a good fight against Oxford in 1869. Since then the polite comity of cosmopolitan Yankeeism has devised new methods for asserting its influences over smart Europe from Gibraltar to the Golden Horn. Oliphant's and Whistler's eccentricities, said Lord Houghton after his American visit of 1875, prepared the ground for the rapid spread of that American freakishness which may explain why the Vavasour of *Tancred* is the New York favourite of all the characters in Disraeli's novels. To go "up in a balloon and down in a diving-bell" is now a very stale and tame affair. The thirst for novelty of adventure binding together the scattered parts of fashionable Anglo-Saxonism to-day impels a select company of multi-millionaires eight hundred feet above the level of the sea to find a banqueting-table on the summit of a factory chimney-stack, makes an aeroplane the scene both of marriage and honeymoon, and a pet parson find a pulpit in a submarine. The quality described by Ernest Renan as "la grande curiosité" shows itself in its twentieth-century votaries after a fashion more strenuous than its earlier manifestation by the first Lord Houghton or his contemporaries. The temper thus described by the great French stylist was a variation on that exhibited by Oliphant and others, here mentioned, at their best. In a more serious and didactic form it characterised the late Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace's life and work. To-day

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it is characteristically exemplified by a literary master of impressionist art now filling Mackenzie Wallace's place. Mr. Stephen Graham has condensed with picturesque force his intimacy with all sorts and conditions of the people placed by the overthrow of Tsardom since 1916 in the Bolshevik grip. "Holy Russia" is the title of a magazine article (*London Quarterly Review*, October 1920) that forms an instructive and deeply interesting introduction to the little library—some twelve volumes—previously produced by Mr. Graham on the subject. He is also a representative of those serious writers whose works find their warmest appreciation on the other side in Chicago's unique triumph of freakish magnificence, Mrs. Joseph Leiter's revolving drawing-room of the ultra-freakish type, so constructed that the sun is commanded to shine on the page that Mrs. Leiter may be reading. Old Mrs. Astor, daughter-in-law of the historic Jacob who founded the family fortunes, lived almost to the eve of the twentieth century; when she died (1894) she left a vacancy in the sovereignty of transatlantic *ton*. The succession lay between the "Exclusivist," Mrs. Mills, and the "Expansionist," Mrs. Drexel; though the latter lady was really no more of a leveller than the twentieth-century plutocratic hostess of Grosvenor Square. The New York, like the London idea, was not to supersede the old order but to quicken it with new blood. That process began and continued in England during the eighties. The twentieth century witnesses its steady advance in the most coveted circles of the great Western Republic. There, however, it was and is conducted with more caution and reserve than were observed in London when Mayfair and Belgravia unconditionally capitulated to, and in effect almost invited, the invasion of the new rich. The Society leaders of the United Kingdom and the United States have much in common with each other, due allowance being made for the

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difference in social atmosphere, personal and family antecedents between a Court dispensation and a democratic system. The social dictatresses of London have been and are at least not more exacting than those of Chicago or Rhode Island as regards the credentials of aspirants to fashionable promotion. They have indeed put themselves to none of the trouble taken by their American sisters to secure the capacity of new-comers for making some fresh and genuine contribution, social or intellectual, to the general fund of pleasure or profit. The polite worlds on both sides of the Atlantic are to-day united as regards their reading and conversation by the same indifference to recent war literature, and by the same tendency towards the gentle cult of the reprint; not, indeed, of the same sort as connects itself with Macaulay's name when he restored life to Richardson's *Clarissa*, creating a demand for the book that made it a year's favourite at an Indian station. The illustration of the present from the past within the space of a magazine or a newspaper article owes its popularity with both publics to the discovery that no short cut to knowledge is more serviceable than that leading through the analogies and precedents of strikingly appropriate detail concerning men, manners and incidents belonging to an earlier age, but prefiguring as vividly as if it were yesterday the conditions and issues of their own time. This is the vein which, especially in respect of Anglo-American relations, has been worked with as much originality as analysis by the *Spectator* among newspapers, and in another quarter of the Press on rather different lines and from another point of view by an accomplished writer, Mr. W. L. Courtney.

Something has already been said about the international aspects of the great nineteenth-century Ruskin-Whistler battle. The "Oxford Graduate" who began with *Modern Painters* did not, however, think so ill,

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or at least express himself so strongly, about the Franco-American impressionist painter as he did concerning the circulating libraries, which do not deserve all the sage's hard words concerning them, and which as a fact have been a healthy link between the reading public on both Atlantic shores. Naturally the librarians themselves know more than most people about the reaction in popular taste that has followed the war strain. "Tarzan" and the libraries of psychological and thaumaturgic fiction are run hard in favour throughout the English-reading world by biblically titled romances as much in demand in Bayswater and Melbourne as in New York, like that once actually asked for as "The Four Horsemen with the Erysipelas" (*The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*).

There is no such teacher of geography as travel. In like manner, as was said during the present century's first decade or so by the above-mentioned General James Grant Wilson, head of the famous University Press at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in London the most popular of diners-out, the marriage of Chicago or New York heiresses into families whose very names are historic monuments should give a new zest to what has been written about the genesis and growth of the old country's fortune and fame. The earliest ducal alliance formed by an American lady was that of Commodore Price's widow with his eighth Grace of Marlborough (1888). Seven years later the ninth wearer of the title given to the Blenheim conqueror found a wife in W. K. Vanderbilt's heiress. Afterwards the New York banker's daughter, Miss May Goelet, became (1903) eighth Duchess of Roxburgh.

The new century also brought the Australian heiress her turn. For in 1907 a daughter of the Antipodes, Miss Winnifreda Yuill, allied herself with the sixth Earl of Portarlington; while the present heir to the Darnley title is by his mother (*née* Miss Morphy) half an Australian. So, too, is the boy, Lord Francis

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Hope's son, who in the course of nature will some day inherit the Newcastle strawberry-leaf. Africa also entered into the matrimonial competition when Major John Lyttelton of the Rifle Brigade married Miss Violet Leonard of Gloria, Cape Colony (1908). Three years later another Anglo-African marriage tie was formed by the union of the fifth Lord Rossmore's daughter with Sir Abe Bailey, the Cape Colony millionaire.

In the August of 1852 Sir John Pakington, as Colonial and War Secretary, was thought by Disraeli, then Lord Derby's Chancellor of the Exchequer, not to have handled too skilfully an Anglo-American question created by the conflicting claims of British, Colonial and United States fishermen; in a letter on the subject to Lord Malmesbury, then head of the Foreign Office, Disraeli used the words often recalled since then: "These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." Just two decades afterwards, while still in the House of Commons, Disraeli as Prime Minister illustrated the absolute unity of Great Britain with her overseas settlements in a characteristically picturesque sentence: "In Australia a digger or squatter finds a nugget or shears a thousand flocks to-day and becomes member for Melbourne; to-morrow he returns home and becomes member for London."

The continuity and similarity of Anglo-Australian life were to receive only a few years after this a significant social illustration. In the reign of George V, his capital, as the most cosmopolitan European metropolis ever known, is in season all the year round. In the reign of his great-grandfather the fashionable world only exchanged its country houses for Mayfair and Belgravia with the mowing of the first hay, and returned to them for the fall of the earliest partridge. By that time a gradually increasing flock of country cousins had settled on the Thames. A little later, when the

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September heats were subsiding, the rural Britons were reinforced in their shopping expeditions by profuse and restless crowds, whose accent and expenditure proclaimed them citizens of the Great Republic. In a week or two the last signs of these had disappeared, and the Antipodean influx began and continued; the Australian season was now the recognised sequel of the American. This order of social succession went on till the nineteenth century's days were numbered.

By that time the Anglo-Australian marriage, as has been shown above, promised to become scarcely less fashionable than the Anglo-American. Stray instances of the former had indeed been known in the years following the discovery of gold in the alluvial plains of Ballarat. One consequence of this was the early return to the mother country of diggers who had made fortunes. These now selected Westbourne Terrace for choice, and after that other places in the Hyde Park region for their residence; there they entertained, in addition to their own kith and kin, not a few United States cousins picked up by them in their travels. Our older transatlantic settlements, whom the eighteenth century had transformed into the United States, had laid down the lines on which Australian development, political, social and intellectual, was to proceed. The Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851 introduced the dwellers under the Southern Cross, like the rest of our trans-oceanic relations, to the old country. Five years afterwards all the more important of the British Crown's foreign dominions had become self-governing countries. The second year of the twentieth century witnessed their growth into a federal commonwealth within the British Empire. Thirteen years afterwards Australian unity and imperial rank found their visible monument in the opening of Australia House.

In the present, 1922, it is not quite a quarter of a century since Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee enabled Englishmen at home to realise with a new

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sense of patriotic elation, as well as with a previously unknown vividness, the extent, the variety and the resources of the world-wide Colonial polity of which the Australias are so large a part. No public man of his own period had from his wide travels so brought home to himself the conditions of our overseas Empire and the character of its people as Joseph Chamberlain's most loyal and useful colleague in his Radical days. As Sir Charles Dilke was the first to put it, these dominions of the British Crown cover an area of 9,000,000 square miles; to express it differently, they form a fifth part of the habitable globe, with a superficies nearly equal to three Europes. One-third of that vast surface is covered by the lands belonging to our Antipodean fellow-subjects. To our Anglo-Saxon kin under the Southern Cross belongs a proportionate share in that half of the world's sea-borne commerce which represents the British proprietorial interest in the earth's richest granaries, noblest timber-forests and the immeasurable subterranean treasures from diamonds and gold to copper, iron and coal.

Sir Charles Dilke was probably the first of Queen Victoria's subjects to make his personal observations of these remote regions practically co-extensive with our planet. What was the historic result to which his experience led? This : the countries flying the British flag are five times as large as the empire of Darius the Great, four times as large as that of imperial Rome; they exceed by an eighth the empire of Russia, are sixteen times as large as that of France, forty times as large as that of Germany. The United States possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific are not traversed till after an unbroken railway journey of seventeen days. Yet they amount in size to only one-third of the scattered realms that formed the inheritance of George V in 1910.

The voyages of King George's eldest son, among their other good and great results, remind us that the magnitude and resources of Greater Britain are

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approached only by its youth. For all human purposes Australia is little more than half a century old. The earliest royal guest entertained by her was great-uncle to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, in 1860. Among those who then welcomed Prince Alfred in 1860 was one of Melbourne's original founders, John Pascoe Fawkner. Among Fawkner's colleagues was Henty, who, slightly Fawkner's senior, lived till 1882. At one of the Melbourne celebrations in honour of King George's son, 1920, there were present direct descendants of both Henty and Fawkner.

The Victorian pageants of 1887 and 1897 differed from each other as regards both their appearance and their meaning as generally understood. The distinctive features of the former were the European and Asiatic princes drawn to our capital that they might grace the anniversary of the illustrious lady who had worn the royal diadem longer than any other of their number; for Francis Joseph, the next to her in monarchical standing, only came to the Austrian crown in 1848, Alexander of Russia to the Tsardom in 1883, while Wilhelm I did not become King of Prussia till 1861, ten years before his assumption of the Imperial title at Versailles. To both these ceremonies the Australias had despatched their representatives. At the Diamond Jubilee, however, they formed the chief objects of popular attention and interest. The leading statesmen of the Antipodes, like those from our dominion across the Atlantic, had their guards of honour in their native troops who seventeen years afterwards, from 1914-19, were to be our brethren in arms for freeing Europe from German tyranny.

It was not alone loyalty to a community of racial origin and political ideals that united the Anglo-Saxon race in all its world-wide habitations against the Teuton attack on the world's liberties. The cement of fashion and sport has not been wanting to those processes of Imperial union which the enterprise

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and genius of the Anglo-Saxon race began. During the Victorian age the European tourist of quality, the "T. G.," about whom something has been said above, was succeeded by the globe-trotting graduate to whom world-wide travel, notably as in the case of the eighth Duke of Devonshire (when Lord Hartington) and a more knowledge-seeking Cambridge graduate, Sir Charles Dilke, became a sort of finishing-school. Our great Pacific communities had been included in the grand tour of those who combined time with means to make it, and who, bent on a political career, saw, like Sir Charles Dilke, the best preparation for it in visiting those lands whose inhabitants and ways had been described as prophetic of their own posterity at home. They had found life at Melbourne or Sydney less unlike London than they had expected. Antipodean milliners and modistes devised toilettes for their customers after the same Parisian model reproduced in Bond Street or Hyde Park. The verdict of posterity, it used to be said, is anticipated by the opinion not only of foreign nations, but of our own transoceanic dominions. So, too, in matters of dress, Australia anticipated even the United States in its disuse of the top-hat as well as in the general presage of the ease and laxity of toilette brought by the twentieth century to Londoners. Hence the earliest and still progressive movement towards desuetude of so many details once considered immutable in the toilette of the lords of creation. The universal habits and popularity of out-door life under the Southern Cross have long provoked imitation when the weather allows in our own land of frost and fog. The ancient Anglo-Saxon open-air life, at least in the matter of meals, had its leading feature in the co-operative feast contributed to by all according to their means. From like beginnings, and conducted on the same principle, grew the Australian open-air hospitalities, which had become the most popular among social rites at the other end of the world, long before the

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Thames valley and the Surrey hills presented throughout the summer a succession of turf-tables spread for holiday feasting, and in due course enlivened by the twinkling feet of dancers to the brisk notes of holiday music.

For town and country, as for all sorts and conditions, the racecourse possesses the same universal magnetism in Australia as in the old country. The battle of flowers in Venice during Carnival time, our own Epsom Downs in Derby-week, are rivalled, if not outdone, by the scenes presented on Flemington racecourse, just outside Melbourne, throughout the entire week's Turf festival, which includes the race for the Melbourne Cup. Sleeping room, eating room, almost even living room, are unprocurable save beneath some private roof unless the necessary accommodation has been booked some months before. At least one Anglican bishop is believed to have been among the spectators of the Sayers and Heenan fight (1860). Churchmen, even bishops, are sprinkled among the multitude collected by the struggle for the Melbourne Cup. The course itself, after the world-wide fashion of these anniversaries, is lined outside the rails by the usual motley crowd among which saint and sinner jostle each other. The "fat woman" is the platform competitor of the "fasting man," or at other points of the foreground are interspersed with every form of mountebank known to either hemisphere as well as the familiar side-shows of tattooists and thimble-riggers. These, however, are the scenes with which Nat Gould's novels have familiarised as many thousands who have never seen a racecourse as those who only know Tattenham Corner from W. P. Frith's *Derby Day*.

Some personal links worth mentioning connect the Turf of the two countries. No Australian-bred horse, indeed, has ever won the English Derby. In 1853 the blue ribbon fell to an owner named Bowes whose horse, though not of Antipodean antecedents, had

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an Antipodean name, "West Australia." In the twentieth century the most distinguished, if not the only Australian racehorse owner in England, is Mr. Spencer H. Gollan; his stable importations from the other side of the world have been made with such judgment that in 1901 his "Australian Star" carried off the City and Suburban as well as the Alexandra Park Gold Cup. In 1904 Mr. Gollan gained a victory for his native land as well as himself with the entirely Australian-bred "Moifaa" in the Liverpool Grand National.

Annually the York and Aintree course witnesses the famous steeplechase whose record from different points of view links it in almost the same degree with the Turf chronicle of the Antipodes and the reigning house of the British Empire. The great Lancashire cross-country race began in 1839; it owed much of its earliest as well as its later and maintained popularity to the fact that its complete panorama at every stage over a two-mile course could be witnessed from the Grand Stand. Chief among its Midland imitations have been the Aylesbury, the Leamington and the Newport-Pagnell cross-country meetings.

During six years (1904-10) of the period now recalled the Grand National formed the most popular because the chief sporting link between Queen Victoria's successor and the overlordship of the British Dominions beyond seas. 1905 was the year in which King Edward bought "Moifaa" from Mr. Gollan as well as ran it, but failed to secure a victory for his new purchase in the same race which, as has been already mentioned, it had won the previous year. The famous Australasian horse retained something of its public character after its racing days had come to an end. In 1906 King Edward presented the horse to Lord Ranksborough, who rode it in the hunting-field; four years later the new owner rode the royal gift at the donor's funeral. Another reign began; "Moifaa," mounted by the late Lord Kitchener, appeared at

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King George's Coronation. Nothing could be more typical of the new Imperial epoch than that on seven occasions its second sovereign should have witnessed a race so full of overseas associations as that on the York and Aintree course, or that his successor during the eleven years of the reign which followed has already seen the great steeplechase on four occasions.

" 'Tis sixty years since," the sub-title of *Waverley*, roughly indicates the interval of time between the departure of the first English cricket eleven (1862) and the return after a six months' Antipodean tour of the first post-war eleven to realise from experience the prowess of our kinsmen beyond seas in what was once a national but has now become an international game. To summarise the details of this transition: Between 1862 and 1878 four English elevens visited Australia. In 1878 Australia sent its first cricket team to a London ground, with the result that it defeated an M.C.C. eleven in a single day by nine wickets. The quality of the Australian bowling formed the sensational surprise of these early games. F. R. Spofforth, the "demon" bowler, as he at once came to be called, took ten wickets for twenty runs; while H. F. Boyle bowled nine of the home team for seventeen runs. The first Anglo-Australian Test Match (1880) brought a check to the visitors in the shape of a defeat by five wickets. Since 1880 the Anglo-Australian Test, the war period alone excepted, has become an annual affair. Our fifty-nine years' experience of Anglo-Australian cricket has been traversed by one persistent feature, the sustained excellence of the Colonial bowling. The tradition of irresistible wicket attack was established by bowlers like Allan, Evans, Boyle, Giffen and Trumble; it is perpetuated in the present century by a later succession of bowlers such as Armstrong, Gregory and Mailey. This deadliness of attack has been explained by the peculiar qualities of the Australian climate and grounds.

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These last are so hard and fast as to give the bowler little chance of success unless he can cultivate some exceptional quality of style or action, pace or power. Nor is it only the natural properties of the hard and fast Melbourne, Sydney or Adelaide grounds which explain the Australian skill in handling the ball. Antipodean cricket knows in its daily practice much less of the professional element than English. The members of the same club thus become in all the arts of the cricket-field the trainers of each other. In Australia, too, the game owes not a little to the Cup contests between local clubs, which are far more numerous than the amateur or county clubs of the old country. Thus they give practically to all talent a chance of taking part in the competition, and so a motive for qualifying themselves by assiduous practice. Nor must be forgotten the part played in the successful organisation of Australian cricket (successful, as the recently concluded season of 1921 has shown the old country to her cost) by the Gregory family, three of whose members, David, S. E., and Jack, have all figured prominently in Test Match analyses.

Other athletic competitions of the old home are reproduced not less vigorously than cricket itself under the Southern Cross. Australian aquatics show in their ordering the same general likeness to the oarsmanship of the old country. The great New South Wales racing water, the Parramatta River, is the scene of all inter-state as well as international matches. Here, therefore, was the course over which in 1920 Ernest Barry reversed the defeat which he had sustained from Felton on the Thames.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed fresh developments of Anglo-Australian athletic union. In 1888 the Dominion received its first visit from an English football team, which found a strong eleven organised for its reception in a series of games played under a blend of the Rugby and Association rules.

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Since then the home popularity of the game has been repeated under the Southern Cross, with results that at some future date may or may not retrieve for the old home the forfeited honours of the cricket-ground.

After cricket no open-air game has been so effective as lawn tennis in bringing together more votaries from all nations representing every class and condition of the habitable world. The learned in game lore still, as they have always done, differ among themselves about the beginnings of the sports that form the heritage of each successive generation. They are not even agreed about the authentic germs or the actual beginnings, the early antecedents or the later relationships of cricket or tennis. There is no certain advance or safe speculation beyond the recorded experience of all countries and all ages, that ball-games were the earliest played upon our planet. The slight testimony existing on the subject, whether Asiatic or European, is to the same effect. The more or less violent propulsion of a circular plaything through the air supplied the Hebrew prophet (Isaiah xxii. 18) with a figure of Judah's coming disturbance and destruction, rather less than a hundred years before Homer's description of the Phæacian princess playing ball with her maidens. Between that pastime or any other of a later date employing the same implement there is more connection than Fluellen's similitude of Monmouth to Macedon, because a river with "trouts" in it was common to both. The Elizabethan literature of fact and imagination attests the familiarity of tennis as a Court and popular pastime in sixteenth-century France and England :

" When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will, in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard "
(Henry V., I. ii.).

" Very pretty, but why do they not pay someone to do it for them? " asked the French early nineteenth-

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century visitor as he watched the manœuvres in a ball-game at Sheffield Park, the cradle and the nursery of Sussex cricket. At another south of England country seat, Lord Hertford's Elvetham, Hants, so far back as Elizabethan days tennis-players in an open-air court on the lawn had been well rewarded for the delight with which no less a visitor than Queen Elizabeth herself witnessed their performance. Some time before the vogue it acquired in Elizabethan England, lawn tennis had vindicated its cosmopolitan character by establishing itself, though only as a masculine game, in Russia.

In whatever shape or part of the world it had been known in earlier days, lawn tennis as an English product belongs to the nineteenth century's last quarter. It is more closely related to cricket than is sometimes remembered by the fact that in 1875 a committee of the M.C.C. drew up the code of lawn tennis rules at Wimbledon, hitherto the headquarters of croquet, but now dominated by lawn tennis. A year later the principal details of lawn tennis scoring were settled by the new central authority. Another twelvemonth passed and the establishment of lawn tennis was formally completed by the transformation of the All England Croquet Club into the All England Lawn Tennis Club. The new laws were accompanied by new masters in what was still spoken of as the new game. Names first celebrated at cricket were now encircled with the laurels of lawn tennis. In 1878 Princes' Club followed the 1877 Wimbledon example, and the metropolitan tennis-ground became the chosen scene for the play of giants at the game like Spencer Gore, P. F. Hadow, C. G. Heathcote and M. Hankey. Others than these, among them L. Erskine and E. B. Brackenbury, were adding distinction as well as popularity to the game elaborated by the ingenuity and skill of its English creator, Major Wingfield, into the universal pastime. His "Sphairistike," the germ, at least, of his more

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finished invention, possessed the attraction of popularity with both sexes several years before its improvement into the game which, with the universality of whist itself, united the able-bodied of both sexes and of all nations in its pursuit. During the same nineteenth-century period of its establishment in Europe Major Wingfield witnessed the wide and firm rooting of his game in transatlantic soil. Here during August 1874, James Dwight and F. R. Sears achieved the distinction of adapting to transatlantic opportunities Major Wingfield's great invention. The achievement was promptly signalled by several lawn tennis tournaments at different fashionable resorts; all were played according to English rules; in 1881 came the match which secured for Sears the championship of the American world.

To-day, however, the game brings us into relations even closer with our kin under the Southern Cross than with our transatlantic cousins. The Davis Cup is the blue ribbon of the game, in whichever quarter of the world it may be played. In 1920 this honour went to America, where at the next season's close it remained. Among the Antipodean players of yesterday or the day before, the memory is still fresh of Norman Brookes, from Victoria, and S. N. Doust, of New South Wales. Victoria is still the nursing-mother of Australian tennis champions and the State in which the game remains most popular. The Antipodean championship matches usually take place at a Sydney suburb, Strathfield, and in the same province are the lawn tennis courts of Manley and Double Bay, uniting in admiration of them visitors from every country in the world.

The popularity of sport throughout the length and breadth of the island continent shows itself not only by the multitudes it brings together, but by the literary vigour and accuracy of its newspaper descriptions, especially by the vivid but terse account of every stage in the games played, combining as these records

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do the minute accuracy of detail with the graphic effects of a word-picture, whose most vivid touches are inspired by open-air associations, those of the racecourse and the chase. So the most maritime people of classical antiquity, when witnessing some play of a dramatic favourite, were touched more deeply by no passages than those whose metaphors and similes were drawn from the sea-going life of the audience. So with our own kin under the Southern Cross. A nation of sportsmen like ourselves, they have been true to the home example in becoming also a nation of journalists, whose Press gives the same prominence as our own to every known variety of sport. Not, therefore, to racing alone, but to all varieties of open-air pastime like those already mentioned is the same prominence given in the Australian as in the English Press, the vivid vigour of whose writing on these subjects bears daily witness to one of the chief resemblances between English and Australian journalism.

That forms only one among the links uniting the English with the Australian Press more closely than with other Anglo-Saxon journalism beyond seas. The rise, progress and associations of the Australian Press call, therefore, at this point, for a few words. Its birthplace was Sydney, the oldest of Australian cities, and from its early nineteenth-century beginnings it was marked by the already-mentioned resemblance to the English model. That was only what might have been expected, because the first Australian newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette*, had for its founder (March 1803) an old *Times* hand, George Howe, who brought with him from Printing House Square the first press set up in the whole country. Almost a quarter of a century afterwards the same city produced (October 24, 1824) the second-born of Antipodean journals, *The Australian*, established by a Sydney barrister, W. Charles Wentworth, claiming

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descent from the sixteenth-century Paul Wentworth who denied Queen Elizabeth's right to gag the Commons on the subject of her possible marriage.

In comparison with Sydney (1788), Melbourne is a city of yesterday. Its founder, the already mentioned Pascoe Fawkner, had scarcely finished his work when he presented it (1838) with the sheet from which the *Melbourne Argus* lineally descends.

As in the old country, so under the Southern Cross, the newspaper was the literary product immediately following the eighteenth-century pamphlet. In the same way the Press of both nations was the creation of a few gifted and restless spirits. The seventeenth-century fathers of English journalism, Marchmont Nedham, John Birkenhead and Roger L'Estrange, found their Antipodean parallels in the already-mentioned Howe, Wentworth and Fawkner.

The *Melbourne Argus* itself was created by a man well endowed with the material which makes nations as well as newspapers. Edward Wilson for some time conducted the great journal he had called into being. He was followed by a man of ability scarcely inferior to his own. H. E. Watts, the son of Anglo-Indian parents, was not sent back from his Asiatic birthplace to Europe so soon as India-born children usually are. His health suffered seriously from the delay; it was restored by a trip to Australia, which connected him with the *Melbourne Argus*, first as an occasional contributor, eventually as editor. A man of great ability, general acumen and wide modern scholarship he became, on settling in London, an important writer for the *Standard*, under Thomas Hamber's editorship, with Alfred Austin, Percy Greg, George Painter and Burton Blyth for his chief colleagues. Angling was his favourite recreation, the literature of Spain his chief hobby, and his translations of *Don Quixote* an enduring monument to his familiarity with the Spanish language. Watts never became editor of

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the *Standard*, or even of its sister-sheet, the *Morning Herald*. He made himself, however, invaluable to the paper by his Indian as well as Australian experience, and particularly distinguished himself by advocating an Anglo-Australian tariff as a measure of equitable reciprocity such as should not have been neglected when our great dependencies first set up housekeeping on their own account. That opportunity had been missed beyond recall. "Failing an imperial tariff, British statesmanship must wait its chance of reconstructing our Colonial Empire and responding as much as possible to those distant sympathies, the source of incalculable strength and happiness to our own land." So at the Crystal Palace in 1872 spoke Disraeli. The same opinions in nearly the same words had been expressed by Watts in a *Standard* leader published a week or two before. As they fell from the great man's lips, Hamber, smiling, said in a very audible whisper to his writer: "'Our thunder.'"

The *Melbourne Argus* tradition established by the first great editor of the paper was carried on by his successor, F. W. Haddon, in editorial taste and accuracy a model for those who followed him. The earliest of these was Howard Willoughby, who held the reins during five or six years, who had previously been Haddon's understudy and whose chief reporter and news editor, Dr. E. S. Cunningham, is the twentieth-century controller of the great newspaper.

Another journalist who did much towards strengthening the link formed by the Press of the Antipodes with that of the old country is Mr. Gowen Evans, who began in England on the *Spectator* under Hutton and Townshend, and who brought to his work under the Southern Cross great natural powers formed and disciplined by his West English school and college training. During the occasional absences of the *Argus* founder, Wilson, Gowen Evans conducted the paper. In this and all his work he illustrated the outstanding

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characteristic of the early Australian Press—a closer similarity to, and a livelier sympathy with, the best English methods and traditions than marked beyond-seas journalism in any other part of the Empire.

From what has now been said, it follows that national friendship with the old home has been the steadily-maintained temper of Australian journalism. That, indeed, it remains to-day, notwithstanding a new and growing tendency to assimilate, though at some distance, American traditions. The distinguished line of English newspaper men who made the Australian Press has been already mentioned. It is not so steadily or copiously, as was formerly the case, maintained under the Southern Cross. The chief positions of the Australian Press are now seldom supplied from British sources. That does not prevent the adoption by papers like the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Melbourne Argus* of special efforts, like those distinguishing our own *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Post* and *Daily News*, to obtain authentic intelligence and as early as that secured by the London Press. Among those achievements are to be remembered that spirit of enterprise which prompted the just-mentioned Antipodean papers to commission special correspondents for subjects of local interest, like irrigation, or of Imperial concern, such as the South African War. In this department no European sheet has surpassed performances like those of the *Melbourne Argus* and the *Melbourne Age*; and the one man who has done more than all others to pour the earliest European and other cable news into Australia is Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon. The sums expended on cable news from Europe and America to the Australian Press are assessed at over £100,000 each year.

Meanwhile, Australian book-writers have operated as links not less popular than journalists in uniting authorship of all kinds with the remotest sections of the Anglo-Saxon public. The movement began in

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1819, when Barron Field, the New South Wales judge, published his *Firstfruits of Australian Poetry*; his English friend and professional brother, the future Sir Thomas Talfourd, saw the book and gave it to Charles Lamb, whose review of it in the *Examiner* introduced Antipodean authorship to home readers. In the course of the following fifties William Howitt's disgust at the hopelessness of plying his pen to any profit without a patron in the old country impelled him to the search for literary openings beyond seas; he found them more severely barred against him than in England. Before Howitt's return to this country another Englishman, also a poet, united on both sides of the Atlantic many readers and some critics—amongst them Edgar Allan Poe—in admiration of his tragedies and epics. R. H. Horne, however, secured notoriety rather than material award, for three editions of his *Orion* sold at a farthing. Literary performances such as these were so slight that, like the rest of the world, he tried his luck at the Australian gold-fields. There, if he found no nuggets, he achieved some social success. Before his return to England in 1869 he had become something of a personage in the colony of Victoria.

But among the Anglo-Australian celebrities of the Victorian age, none was more conspicuous, physically by the white hair and pink eyes of the albino, as by his intellectual powers and accomplishments, than Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke. Soon after his arrival in Sydney in 1842 he distanced most of his contemporaries by the distinguished and lucrative practice he acquired at the Australian Bar. His active part in Australian politics began some four or five years afterwards. Few, if any, politicians of the old country had then included the transoceanic dominions in the grand tour. To Robert Lowe, therefore, belongs the distinction of being the first to illustrate the value of colonial politics as a preparatory school for English

statesmen. Nothing could have been more characteristic than the quick and perfectly natural ease with which, on his return to England (1850), Lowe took his place, or, rather, made a place for himself, in the society that he may just have entered half a dozen years earlier, but of which he knew nothing till his return. The brightening and quickening effect of his Antipodean experience showed itself in the cutting conversational epigrams for which he then became famous, as he remained till the end of his life. Visiting the first Lord Houghton at Fryston, he compared the place to one of those amorphous animals which have their brains all over their bodies, "because," as he said, "wherever you go in this pleasant home of a man of letters, books pursue you."

Meanwhile, a member of a later Oxford generation than that of Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, had sent to Australia two men, his equals if not his superiors in literary distinction, if in purely intellectual power a little below himself. The year that brought back Robert Lowe from Sydney to resume, or, rather, to begin a new career in his native land witnessed the departure to the Antipodean goldfields of Robert Cecil, afterwards to become famous successively as Lord Robert Cecil and third Marquess of Salisbury. His return to England from his prospecting reconnaissance at Ballarat took place three years after Robert Lowe's experience "down under" had come to an end, with the result that the future Lord Salisbury, when as yet not even Lord Cranborne, began his House of Commons courses as member for Stamford just a year before Lowe's return for Kidderminster. Lord Salisbury's natal year was also that which brought into the world the novelist, Henry Kingsley, whose five years' sojourn under the Southern Cross were turned to such good account as to place him in the front rank of Anglo-Australian novelists. During his Oxford residence, while Fellow and tutor of

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University College, Robert Lowe was not only the author of more First Classes for his pupils than any contemporary teacher, but the enlivener of his generation with the best mock-heroic poems ever written, especially the compositions known as Macaronic verse, and in particular the lines welcoming the visit of George III with Queen Charlotte, and beginning :

“Tum forte in turri consedit reading man altâ.”

The fortune realised by his practice at the Sydney Bar sufficed for all his needs on his re-establishment in London. Whether as a writer for *The Times* or a speaker in Parliament, he was heavily handicapped by a shortness of sight that, contrary to frequent experience of such an infirmity, increased rather than diminished with years. Delane arranged for him to attend the office as little as possible at night. His articles were therefore written at his own house, generally by his indefatigable wife, sometimes by her exceptionally educated maid, who when engaged was told that she might occasionally have to act as her master's amanuensis. Lowe's leader-writing at Printing House Square went on for a little less than twenty years; it thus survived not only the jealousy and hostile intrigue of some among his colleagues, but at least one attack elaborately organised for his downfall. *The Times* of October 3, 1855, contained a leader by Lowe commenting unfavourably on the Princess Royal's marriage, just arranged with the then Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick. This article exactly hit the public taste of the moment, highly pleased the editor, J. T. Delane, and was regarded by the proprietor, John Walter, as a first-rate piece of journalism. Henry Reeve, however, the future editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, as of the Greville diaries, and eventually Registrar of the Privy Council, saw in the leader an encroachment on his particular

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province of foreign politics. The collective wit, wisdom and judgment of Printing House Square, with the single exception of Henry Reeve, were enthusiastic for Lowe and the line taken in his article. Reeve therefore looked in vain for support from any of his friends or fellow-workers. The affair formed the only difference of opinion ever occurring between the authorities of Blackfriars and the writer whose sense of his own importance had won him the nickname of "Il Pomposo." It ended in the establishment freeing itself of an able, a magnificent incubus in a man who had indeed served the paper well, but who resented any approach to rivalry in the department of international subjects regarded by him as his own peculiar appanage. So began and so ended the greatest journalistic triumph which the ex-Australian leader-writer could have won.

Meanwhile, whether with pen or on platform, the future Lord Sherbrooke indulged the strange perversity of his genius by belittling the classical accomplishments in which he had then no living rival except Gladstone.

While Robert Lowe's manner and talk always remained those of an Oxford Don, without any Australian veneer, Henry Kingsley, on the other hand, brought back with him from Victoria the dress, the habit and the bearing of the bush. He perhaps a little over-acted the part he had studied so carefully. London civilisation at any rate proved intolerable; in headlong flight from city life and its human products, he turned like a stag at bay to the waters and rested for a time at Wargrave-on-Thames. There he found a congenial spirit in one who combined a most musical gift of song with the shaggy presence and the social habits of a Newfoundland dog. This was Mortimer Collins; sleeping as soundly by the riverside as in his bed, he personified to the returned Australian's fancy an English river dog, lineally, it might almost be,

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descended from the tutelary genius of the Tiber who welcomed Æneas to the Latin shores.

Even during the late sixties, as Kingsley hoped, Britain beyond the Tweed might still retain something of its aboriginal barbarism. Editing the *Daily Review* kept him at Edinburgh for a year or two. An old Australian friend, touring in the British Isles, had found a resemblance between some of the Antipodean wilds and the South Down country about the Sussex quarries. At Cuckfield, therefore, the novelist pitched his roving tent. There he passed his last years, redeeming them, as he said, by his service to the Australian and English publics in being the first to discover the genius of a rising novelist, William Black. A later association connects this erratic and vigorous writer with twentieth-century readers; for among the novels of 1920 few attracted more notice than *The Tall Villa*, by his niece ("Lucas Malet"), whose thought and diction owe something to her uncle as well as to her more famous father.

The last half of the nineteenth century connected itself with the literary activities belonging to a somewhat earlier period by a noticeable outburst of colonial authorship. Early in the Victorian age Alfred Domett, by his birth and residence at Camberwell Robert Browning's fellow-townsmen as well as by years his exact contemporary, made some mark by his contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine*. In 1842 an opportunity of official employment took him to New Zealand. Here his muse remained silent longer than many of those best acquainted with his great gifts had hoped. Hence Browning's awakening appeal in the lines :

" What's become of Waring
Since he gave us all the slip ? " etc.

The appeal produced no early result. It may have been ignored and forgotten by the friend to whom it

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was addressed. Official duties in the colony found Domett without the time or inclination to break his poetic silence till after the lapse of a full generation. For it was not till 1872 that the apostrophised "Waring," when retired from the Colonial Service, placed on metrical record some reminiscences of his Antipodean career in the poem *Ranolf and Amobia*. Five years afterwards the old inspiration once more expressed itself in a volume of verse, *Flotsam and Jetsam*, appropriately dedicated by its author to the famous friend but for whom it might never have seen the light.

More racy of the Australasian soil than Domett, though not more indebted to it for some of his early poetic impulses, the English-born, trained and educated Adam Lindsay Gordon caught in his verses much of the inspiration exhaled by the most typical phases of Australian life. Digger, squatter, steeplechase rider, horse-breaker in turn, throughout all these experiences he had a retentive ear for the thoughts and rhymes that took his fancy, and the power of so assimilating them that, long meditated in his musing moments and eventually shaped into language, they were welcomed by himself and his friends as the original project of an indigenous inspiration, largely reminiscent though that was of English and American masters, from Byron, Poe, Swinburne to Walt Whitman, of the poetical grotesque. Both countries are to-day without any great or widely representative poet, yet the newspapers and magazines both abound in verse whose ideas rather than their verbal setting are marked by graceful or vigorous touches full of promise for the unknown and often anonymous poet.

Sir Fitzjames Stephen, the hardest thinker and most penetrating critic, died in 1894; during his last years he constantly quoted, each time with fresh gusto, some anonymous lines of an Australian versifier which also, I think, appeared underneath a picture, in the

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Sporting and Dramatic News, of "The Tired Hunter."
They ran as follows :

"I've had my share of pastime and I've had my share of toil;
And life is short, the longest life a span.
I care not now to tarry for the corn or for the oil,
Or for the wine that maketh glad the heart of man.
For time misspent, for resolutions vain
'Twere somewhat late to trouble; this I know—
I should live the same life over if I had to live again,
And the chances are I go where most men go."

The whole fragment was not only a good specimen of its kind, to be met with to-day in many fugitive periodical compositions, but it summarised the easy-going materialism that is the central article in the popular faith not, perhaps, of Australians only. The rhymes had been heard by Stephen long before he could ever have read them in print. As a second son with little prospects in the course of nature of succeeding to the title, Lord Robert Cecil made a Colonial tour, in the course of which he prospected for gold in Australia. There and then he became acquainted with the lines just quoted. Their music and their matter so took his fancy that during the remainder of his life he did his best, but with no result, to find out the writer. "For," as he often said after quoting them, "here are the notes of perplexity, doubt and unrest that have been before now the prelude of a great poet's advent."

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Saxon sportsmanship of two hemispheres is united not only by the manhood and high spirit of its active votaries, but by poetical strains as inspiring and unifying in their way as any that ever amalgamated and fired the spectators or performers at the classic games. "There has been nothing like it since Tyrtaeus." Such was the opinion expressed during this century's early years by the most literary-minded of Oxford scholars, J. T. Sargent, about Rudyard Kipling's verses and their world-wide effects,

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The same meed of praise, however, belongs to other contemporary makers of patriotic verse; one of those, Robert William Service, of Lancashire birth but of transatlantic residence, has justly enough been called "the Canadian Kipling." For his *Rhymes of a Rolling Stone* and *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man* have all the spirit of the Anglo-Indian singer, as well as not a little of that lilt and glow which brighten with their fire and music two such distinctive poets of their period as Sir Henry Newbolt and John Masefield. Of these the former is heard at his most musical and inspiring best in the lines entitled "Vitaī Lampada," quoted from *Admirals All* (Elkin Mathews) :

" There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night—
Ten to make and the match to win—
A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
An hour to play and the last man in.
And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his captain's hand on his shoulder smote,
' Play up ! play up ! and play the game ! '

The sand of the desert is sodden red,—
Red with the wreck of a square that broke ;—
The gatling's jammed and the colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks,
' Play up ! play up ! and play the game ! ' "

The incident referred to at the conclusion of these spirited and musical lines is universally familiar from Lady Butler's commemoration of the incident in her painting " The Battle of Laing's Nek—Floreat Etona ! " and the engraving of it by J. G. Webb. Two old Eton boys, Elwes and Monck, were engaged in the attack. The latter's horse had just been shot under him, when there rang in his ears his old schoolmate's cry, " Come along, Monck—' Floreat Etona ! ' We must be in the

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front rank!"¹ The appeal was immediately followed by the advance of him to whom it was made—and the fall, mortally wounded, of him who made it.

To judge from American precedent, after the smaller poetic births of our time, a really national singer on a grand scale seems due in Greater, as for that matter in Great Britain, not to particularise other homes of the Anglo-Saxon race. Meanwhile it is something on which Australia may be congratulated that none of the bards has visited her with a literary infliction such as the eighteenth century brought to our transatlantic kin in Joel Barlow's happily long-forgotten epic, *The Columbiad*. The most universal, interesting and permanent links uniting New World writers with Old World readers are formed by the prose-romancists. Much of R. L. Stevenson's work was executed or meditated within sound of the Southern seas, and the great island-continent has contributed to latter-day fiction finished masters of the novelists' art in Rolf Boldrewood (T. A. Browne); "Dr. Nikola's" creator, Guy Boothby; Charles Haddon Chambers, and E. W. Hornung; while Mrs. Campbell Praed has blended in her Society fictions the fashion and feminism of Mayfair with those of Melbourne.

Mention has already been made of the special and entirely novel prominence given to our great overseas dominions in the Diamond Jubilee pageant of 1897. Three years, however, had still to pass before the final settlement of the exact terms that since the twentieth century began have fixed the Australian Commonwealth's relations to the British Monarchy. These included a Federal Parliament sitting at Melbourne, consisting of two Chambers, a representative House whose numbers were proportioned to the population

¹ This is the generally accepted version of the affair; but the Hon. Stanley Monck himself said later that there had been no mention of Eton at the time.

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of the State which elected them, and a Senate formed by thirty-six senators, six from each State. A national and international transaction on so vast a scale affected too many interests and too many popular or official sensibilities to escape the closest criticism. The measure passed through the Imperial Parliament at Westminster (1900) even more easily than might, perhaps, have been expected. Even as it was, difficulties and delays were encountered by those provisions of the Commonwealth Bill which seemed to infringe the constitutional rights in Colonial jurisdiction of the hereditary House at Westminster. The critics of the measure in the Privy Council, led by the Chancellor, the Earl of Halsbury, resented and resisted the surrender of their prerogatives in the matter of Colonial legislation, their connection with which was destroyed or seriously threatened. This difficulty yielded to a compromise by which the Australian right of appeal to the Privy Council was still allowed if the High Court of the Australian Commonwealth certified the fitness of any particular case for Privy Council reference. Thus a new but sufficiently strong link might still connect Australian jurisdiction in exceptionally important matters with Home control. The next step was to endow the overseas Commonwealth with a Governor of its own in the signally appropriate person of the second Lord Tennyson, whose father had done more by his pen than any other English poet to breathe a spirit of unity into the scattered portions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

CHAPTER IX

THE CULT OF THE COLONIES AT HOME

The forging of the first links connecting the colonies with the mother country—Forerunners and inception of the Colonial Office—Lord Hillsborough, first administrator of the British dominions—Lord Dartmouth, "the Psalm-singer"; succeeded by Lord George Sackville Germaine—Rehabilitation of Lord George after his Minden disgrace—Rockingham succeeds North, and transfers the Colonies to Welbore Ellis—A sword and wig *contretemps*—The first Lord Shelburne's forbears, prominent in commerce and invention—Ireland a centre of disturbance after the American War of Independence—Shelburne and Fox send Robert Oswald and Thomas Grenville to confer with Franklin and Vergennes in Paris (1782)—The second Baron Grantham assumes the reins of Colonial government—Shelburne's estimate of Grantham's services—Thomas Townshend, Lord Sydney—The Coalitions of 1757 and 1783, and those of a later period—A vindication of the charge against Lord North of American mismanagement—The Marquis of Carmarthen (afterwards Duke of Leeds)—His family, career and grandiose personality—His successor at the Downing Street Colonial Office, Lord Sydney (for his second term)—Adoption and abandonment of convict transportation to Australia—Pitt's cousin, William, subsequently Lord, Grenville, takes over the Colonies in 1789—His cold, unsympathetic mien but respected personal qualities—A contrast in manner provided by his successor, Henry Dundas, Lord Melville—The departments of War and Colonies are combined (1801) under Robert, Lord Hobart, who opposes Imperial autonomy—Castlereagh and Huskisson take their places in the Colonial succession—Gibbon Wakefield's economic system of Colonial government evolved between prison walls—The enlightened Colonial policy opening with the Victorian age connects itself with philosophic Radicalism—Lord

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John Russell recognises the growing demand for trans-oceanic self-government—Mr. Gladstone's zeal for absolute official impeccability—The colonists resist certain proposals of the Greys with regard to convict labour (1847)—Henry Labouchere devotes his mastery of trade to the business of the dominions—Lord Carnarvon secures Colonial envoys personal access to home administrators—Carnarvon's South African negotiations and J. A. Froude's visit to the Cape—How Joseph Chamberlain viewed Greater Britain—The permanent Colonial officials: an unbroken sequence of highly-endowed intellects—Sir Henry Taylor, of "Philip van Artevelde" fame—Two contemporary lines of Empire makers and Empire administrators: the Stephens and the Merivales—Lord Blachford becomes Permanent Under-Secretary (May 1860)—His facile mastery of complex details stifles public agitation against frequent infusion of new blood into the Colonial Service—Robert G. W. Herbert: a brilliant colonial career crowns brilliant scholarship—A worthy pupil of Herbert—Edward Fairfield, and a "Jumbo" incident—Lord Rosebery emphasises the reciprocal obligations of Great and Greater Britain—The Imperial Conference of 1921 brings together representatives from all British dominions—The King's happy reply to their loyal address.

WHILE, after the manner and by the personal agencies just described, our overseas settlements were organising their polities and pursuits, their connection with the mother country had developed itself on lines as well as through official agencies which unite their seventeenth-century administration with that of our own day. The organisation of our colonial system belongs to the age of the Stuart restoration, when a Privy Council Committee (July 4, 1660) came into existence as the Council of Trade and Plantations. Eleven years afterwards (February 1671), the diarist, John Evelyn, became secretary to or a paid member of this body, with a salary of £500 a year "to encourage me." Shortly afterwards the functions of the council were much enlarged by the transfer to it of duties previously distributed among the councillors at large. Its importance, if not its numbers, was increased during the seventeenth century's last quarter, when, after a

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complete re-constitution, it consisted of eight members, each receiving £1000 a year; while Indian as well as other Colonial affairs came within its cognizance fifty-three years later (1748). In 1784, however, its Asiatic responsibilities were transferred to the Board of Control. Since 1768 the body that began as a Committee of the Privy Council has grown into the Colonial Office, whose existence, though not whose name, thus dates from the year which saw Lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer.

During the early Georgian era, the first official charged exclusively with colonial administration was Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough. Before his succession to the family title he had represented Warwick and Huntingdon in the House of Commons. While yet a youth he succeeded his father as second Viscount Hillsborough; nine years later (1751) this title was improved into an earldom. "This young man of great honour and merit," as Horace Walpole describes him, became (1754) Comptroller of George II's household. As President of the Board of Trade in 1768 he doubled with that office the charge of the colonies. Force, the characteristic virtue of aristocracies, did not in the first Earl Hillsborough go with political sagacity or tact. A vigorous rather than a discreet debater, he was characterised by George III in conversation with Grenville as remarkable beyond all of his time for lack of judgment. Like most men of his order in that well-bred period, he combined high breeding and fine manners with intellectual mediocrity and a signal indisposition for every form of business except that of pleasure.

Hillsborough's successor in the business of colonial administration was a man of more strongly-defined character as well as of convictions deeper in spiritual than in political concerns. Descended from a favourite courtier of the first Charles, "honest Will Legge," the Earl of Dartmouth, who followed Hillsborough, belonged

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to the earnest Evangelical coterie presided over by Sir Richard Hill, Rowland Hill's father, and had drunk deep of their spiritual convictions; he had thus won for himself from his less serious contemporaries the title of "the Psalm-singer." Generally supporting Lord North, he was thought to have delayed or missed a higher promotion from his want of sympathy with that easy-going statesman's political and religious laxity. Lord Dartmouth's successor (January 25, 1776) cut a larger figure in the social and political doings of the time. The first Duke of Dorset's third son, a pleasant but incapable military officer, Lord George Sackville, had brought himself into trouble by such neglect of professional duty at the battle of Minden (August 1759) as could not be overlooked even by one so well disposed to the family as his sovereign, George III. That King, however, still stood by the family. The discredited Sackville was given an Irish Vice-Treasurership. In 1770 the whitewashing process was carried still further by his change of name to Germaine; six years later he was appointed Secretary of State to the American colonies, and in 1782 the rehabilitation completed itself by the promotion of the ducal scion to become Viscount Sackville, as well as, it would seem, to be the earliest member of our overseas administration to be generally, if not officially, called Secretary of State. The title Viscount Sackville only came to Germaine after the close of his colonial term. Lord North's administrator of our overseas dominions was as well known, and for the most part the object of as much outcry, as his chief, and the colonies owed something of their growing notoriety to their connection with a man only less familiar to the entire public than the first Minister himself. His way of life, like his personal manner in Parliament and society, was that of the typical aristocrat who, except at a Cabinet dinner, seldom took that meal away from home, because, as he said, he knew what

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his own cooks could do, and nothing about those of other people. His appearance, ways of life, the bluff arrogance of an habitually contemptuous, but still not intentionally insolent bearing were illustrated by anecdotes that, running through every class from sovereign to watchman, quickly familiarised him to all, as we have seen done in our own day by the cartoons of *Punch* and the paragraphs of society papers. At one of his country houses, Drayton, he had a fine library, not a book of which he ever opened, except when he had mislaid his favourite French novel. He could neither speak nor read with understanding any language except his own, though he had picked up when travelling with his father, the Duke of Dorset, enough French for giving his orders to milliners and cooks. Of history he knew nothing beyond the fact that his ancestors were great men under Queen Elizabeth. Nothing, he took it for granted, could be more natural than that their descendant should achieve a like distinction under King George. His grandfather, Charles, Earl of Dorset, had, he thought, done enough to vindicate the literary talent of the family by the well-known song he contributed to *The Guardian*, beginning,

“ To all you ladies now on land,
We men at sea indite. . . .”

National services such as those actually standing to Germaine's credit were a passport in those days to high civil promotion. His conduct at Minden had been forgotten in the memories of his earlier conduct at Fontenoy, where he had received at least honourable wounds. Moreover, if he suffered from failure of nerve at Minden, he retrieved his reputation for composure eleven years afterwards in his duel with Governor Johnstone. In this engagement he showed a coolness and intrepidity which explains, as it prompted, Horace Walpole's remark, “ Whatever Lord George Sackville

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may have been, Lord George Germaine is a hero " (December 18, 1770). Whatever his faults or failings, Germaine often united with them something of the calmness and good temper characteristic of his chief, Lord North. When placed on his mettle or in a tight corner, he showed a tenacity proportionate to the physical strength he combined with his six feet of stature. In 1782 Lord North's administration was replaced by that of Rockingham. Germaine, it is thought, might have retained his office if he had accepted the new order. He rejected every suggestion or overture of the kind, and followed his old chief into retirement.

That withdrawal opened the first place in the new administration to Lord Rockingham, who entrusted the colonies to a well-broken Whig-hack of the period; this was Welbore Ellis, whose career, before its close (February 1802) at the age of eighty-eight, had been a series of transfers from one office of the Crown to another—Admiralty Lord, Secretary at War, Treasurer of the Navy, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. The best-known incident in his career as a Parliament man had nothing to do with the colonies or any other office that he administered. It serves characteristically to show the patrician clumsiness in the management of the sword that marked the grand gentleman of that generation, and that now, when swords are no longer worn, is succeeded by a frequent inability to regulate the position of the headgear, which the family habit retains of not laying aside when they take their place at the dinner-table or in the drawing-room. The sword incident occurred during the future Lord Mendip's pre-colonial period. What happened was this: Lord North, on preparing to leave the House, held his sword horizontally, so that, as he rose, its point came into contact with Mr. Welbore Ellis's wig, which was completely lifted off, though the habitually somnolent Premier, not quite aroused from a nap,

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never knew what had happened till a burst of laughter aroused him to the facts. With perfectly silent gravity the future Colonial Secretary regained his head-gear, and readjusted it with a dignified composure not relaxed or in the slightest degree affected by the roars of laughter then running round the House.

The fifth in order of succession among the Secretaries of State administering the colonies eclipsed in personal importance and intellectual calibre all his predecessors. The first Lord Shelburne, eventually Marquess of Lansdowne, like so many others of his period, shed lustre on the assembly in which birth gave him a seat, and on the political system of his time. Lord Shelburne belonged on the paternal side to a trading family. The Hampshire clothier who founded the Petty family to which Shelburne belonged transmitted to his descendants other gifts than those of money or of money-making. His scientific or inventive turn and attainments, strengthened by study and elevated by success, descended to his posterity. His son, eventually Sir William Petty, found his way to Oxford, distinguished himself in its scientific schools, and delighted Charles II by his attainments in that natural philosophy which had so much charm for the royal taste. Royal favour in the seventeenth century sent him to Ireland as Surveyor-General. On his return his inventive taste, quietly strengthened by steady practice, showed itself in his creation of a double-keeled boat, and the good luck on which he could always count found him first the knighthood and afterwards the bride in the lady who, about a fortnight after her husband's death (December 16, 1687), was improved from Lady Petty into the Baroness Shelburne. The Petty marriage had already given this lady an eldest son, Charles, afterwards the first Baron Shelburne. His death in 1696 without issue devolved that title on his brother Henry, who, like Charles, died childless. The Shelburne estates then (1751) went to his nephew, John

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Fitzmaurice, the son of his sister, Anne Petty, herself the wife of Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry. John Fitzmaurice became (1753) the first Earl of the revived Shelburne creation. At this time his son William, the Colonial Secretary of a later day, was still the youthful Christ Church undergraduate which he had become at the age of sixteen.

During the early months of 1782 a little series of no-confidence votes against North ended in his replacement as Prime Minister by Rockingham, with Charles James Fox as Foreign Minister, while Shelburne doubled the parts of Home and Colonial Secretary. Then, as has continued periodically since, Ireland was the chief centre of ministerial difficulty. North's concessions in 1780 had not conciliated Ireland, but only given her a fresh grievance. Disregarding the advice of his two best friends, Charlemont and Burke, Grattan insisted on putting forward the proposal for complete Irish independence of English authority. To that pressure Fox and Shelburne yielded. The two statutes interfering with complete Irish Home Rule were unconditionally abolished. The conclusion of the American War now formed the question dividing parties and sections. The transatlantic trouble was promptly followed by European complications. The Powers who had backed the United States, Spain and France, were still at open war with England. During this anxious period Shelburne was the Secretary of State on whom the heaviest responsibilities fell. The anxieties of office were embittered and complicated by the personal suspicions and rivalries of the party chiefs. The process of world resettlement after the Anglo-American and Anglo-French revolutionary wars had made Paris the centre of European gravity and interest. Benjamin Franklin had crossed the Atlantic to represent the cause and ideas of the American colonies after their successful revolt from England. Shelburne as Colonial Secretary had his Paris representative in a remarkably gifted

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Scotch merchant, first known as a contractor during the Seven Years' War, Mr. Richard Oswald of Ochencruive (Lord Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, Vol. II. p. 119), who doubled the part of a trader of world-wide establishment with that of Anglo-American diplomatist, standing as well both with Vergennes and Franklin as he did with his illustrious compatriot, at once his patron and preceptor, Adam Smith, who brought him to Shelburne's notice. Had Shelburne and Fox been on terms of mutual friendship, and not undisguised dislike and mistrust, one representative in the French capital might have sufficed for both their respective departments. As it was, Fox, as head of the Foreign Office, had of course his own representative and agent on the Seine, in Thomas Grenville. The triangular negotiations (Anglo-Franco-American) which followed under the direction of Fox and Shelburne outlasted the English First Minister's life. For the details of the world peace on both sides of the Atlantic were not settled before January 1783; six months before that date Rockingham's death had made Shelburne his successor as First Lord, and had transferred the Colonies to Lord Grantham.

That statesman rendered his chief, Shelburne, some service outside the limits of his own department by promoting, alike with his tact, toil and agreeable personal qualities generally, the slowly-dragging negotiations for Anglo-American as well as European peace. His family name associated itself not only with a serviceable career, but with the rise of a political family whose wealth and power, persisting amid all the changes and chances of time till our day, form a link between the centuries. The Yorkshire baronets of the Robinson name had rendered the State useful service before acquiring the Grantham barony in 1761. The member of this house with whom we now have to do connects as second Baron Grantham the social and educational eighteenth-century traditions with

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those of an earlier age. Like many of his ancestors and generally other youths of quality of his time, he had been educated at Westminster and at Cambridge (Christ's College). His official life began when he left the University. Between 1771 and 1779 he completed a various and thorough diplomatic training whose results showed themselves in his skilful management of Anglo-Spanish relations as our Ambassador at Madrid during a stormy period. Horace Walpole speaks of him as "under a cloud" in 1775, owing, it would seem, to his careless custody of State papers and secrets. That did not prevent his being entirely in Shelburne's confidence or diminish the importance of the services rendered by him to that Minister during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The importance of Grantham's administrative gift and power of work may be judged from the fact that it was compressed into three months' tenure of his Colonial position, and that a chief so discriminating in his praise as Shelburne bore testimony to his value throughout the complicated negotiations which brought to a close the feuds, rivalries and intrigues that perplexed and embittered British statesmanship on both sides of the Atlantic. The father of safe, steady-going and scientific diplomacy on modern lines is the description that suits equally well the earlier years of Grantham's career already recalled and their sequel during the period of his succession to Fox at the Foreign Office.

Grantham's successor at the Colonial Office, Thomas Townshend, ennobled subsequently as Lord Sydney, is noticeable less for his official achievements than for his personal and family associations. In the seventeenth century Sir Robert Walpole, when able to exchange Downing Street for the rural delights of Houghton, had for his nearest neighbour the political associate who was also his brother-in-law, Charles, Viscount Townshend, who owed his peerage to the part played by his father in promoting the Stuart restoration.

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In the reign of the third George the best-known members of this ennobled family were Charles Townshend, whose "champagne speech" in May 1767 had made him the talk of the town, and his younger brother, Thomas, who sat in the House of Commons for Whitechurch, became Lord Shelburne's Colonial Minister, and occasionally his representative in the Commons, from October 1782 till April 1783. The latter year witnessed not only the general pacification on both sides of the Atlantic, but what the political censors of all times have agreed in denouncing as the unnatural and monstrous union of statesmen hitherto separated from each other by the deepest principles of political faith and action. As regards the Colonial administration of the time, the North and Fox coalition under the Duke of Portland in 1783 involved little more change, if any, than the transfer to Lord North of our overseas dominions from Thomas Townshend, now first Lord Sydney. Exactly, therefore, 138 years ago our trans-oceanic Empire for the first time in its existence was administered, as it is in 1921, by a Coalitionist statesman. Even this eighteenth-century experience was not the first of its kind known to English politics. What, it may be said, about political combinations of this kind generally? None knew better than the authors of the 1783 arrangement all that could be said against it. "Unless," they both said, "a real good Government ensues on this junction, the public will rightly condemn it." "Nothing," were the words of Fox, "but success can justify it."

The two eighteenth-century Coalitions, that of 1757 and that of 1783, materially differ from each other in their origin, objects and results. The earlier of these arrangements had for its dominating motive the successful conduct of the Seven Years' War. In 1783 the aim and motive prompting the union of Fox with North were the restoration of national prosperity after the American struggle and the stimulation of

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opposition to the unpopular Anglo-American peace. Again, as regards constitution, the two Coalitions differed to a marked degree. In 1757 Chatham, the leading spirit of the movement, though hated by George III, was secure in the national confidence; in 1783 the private character of North lowered him in public estimation, but did not prevent his enjoying the confidence and friendship of the King. Popular historians have represented Lord North as the evil genius whose official opportunities, personal ascendancy at Court, and high ideas of royal prerogative made him responsible for the American War and the loss of our transatlantic colonies. This is the old, and, perhaps, in some quarters still the current, fiction. Let it be contrasted with the facts. The easy-going and courtier-like North, as Prime Minister (1770-82), used no influence, personal or official, with his royal master, for reconciling him to the loss by the British Crown of its fairest transatlantic jewel. The Colonial department specially concerned with that spoliation was then (1775) controlled by Lord Dartmouth, about whom enough has been said already. North himself had no official responsibility for the colonies till eight years later (April 1783), when the struggle was over, and the American people was in the process of making. North, of course, at first adopted, echoed and emphasised the king's resolve against the American surrender, but only to be told by George III that he would take the first opportunity of dismissing the Coalition, bag and baggage (Lecky's *England*, Vol. IV. p. 283). North's complaisance with the royal humour was only repaid by his sovereign with a charge of the blackest ingratitude and treachery. The Minister not only took it all with smiling good-humour, but in the best House of Commons speech he ever delivered vindicated his ideas of Colonial policy in general, and in particular those methods that had culminated in the loss of the sovereign's transatlantic realm.

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North's successor at the Colonial Office connected the department for the first time with the highest order of the English peerage—the dukedom of Leeds. The foundations of the Osborne family, which eventually attained to the Leeds dukedom, were—as began so often in the sixteenth century to happen—laid in the city of London, and that not in the most august departments of its trade. Edward Osborne, apprentice to cloth-worker Sir William Hewitt, of London Bridge, rescued his master's daughter from drowning, and became in due course his son-in-law and heir, destined to higher honours than those which came to him in the usual line as Lord Mayor, knight and City M.P. Few, if any, startling honours were added to the family till his great-grandson, Sir Thomas Osborne, became Lord Danby in 1674, and twenty years later reached the highest rank of the peerage as first Duke of Leeds, with the titular Marquisate of Carmarthen for his eldest son. Under that title his eighteenth-century descendant, eventually the fifth duke of his line, trained himself by an apprenticeship to diplomacy for the future duties of Colonial administration. For that career he had prepared himself in his youth by combining Westminster and Oxford after the sequence by which fashion had chosen Christ Church for eradicating any roots of knowledge planted at Eton. The family interest of his mother, Lady Mary Godolphin, had secured his prospective return for her Cornish borough of Helston directly her son should show a disposition to settle down. First, however, he made the acquaintance of the Lower House as member for another family borough, Eye in Suffolk; thence, in the same year (1744), and within a few months, came his transfer to the Cornish seat. Already, however, his natural magnificence filled his mind with thoughts more august than those directly concerning the popular Chamber. In 1782 he combined all his energies and family influence against Lord George Germaine's elevation to the peer-

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age. "Nothing," he said, "by reason of the proposed peer's military antecedents, could be more derogatory or dangerous to the hereditary House." This future Duke of Leeds would have done better for those with whom he acted, as for the Assembly to which he belonged, by restraining his personal animus against the Colonial Minister whose near successor he eventually became. His zeal and overpowering discretion failed, as it generally does, and in this instance was from the first sure to do, but did not prevent his Grace that was to be from becoming, exactly a year later, while still Lord Carmarthen, British Ambassador in Paris. He enjoyed that position during only two months, for on February 24 the Prime Minister, Shelburne, who had appointed him, resigned, and thirty-seven days later the Coalition came in. The splendid scale on which he maintained his Embassy impressed Parisian society without personally popularising the Ambassador, who resigned immediately on Shelburne's replacement by Fox and North; during that duumvirate he was without State employment, but regained it at the beginning of Pitt's Premiership in December 1783, becoming in that month head of the Colonial Office. There he stayed till the defeat of his chief's East India Bill, when, though the Minister himself stayed on, his Colonial Secretary retired. The withdrawal lasted only a short time. Pitt's appeal to the constituencies against the tactics of Fox and his supporters, by decisive majorities and growing popular acclamation, re-established him in place and power.

Lord Carmarthen became head of the Foreign Office. To magnify his apostleship had been from the first his ruling thought. His Cabinet colleagues, he complained, would not give sufficient attention to foreign affairs. A sense of public duty compelled him, therefore, to take these as much as possible into his own hands. "Henceforth," he said, "I gave them little trouble

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on the subject." Such was the little way of the great official grandee whom, as Duke of Leeds (created March 1787), Mrs. Montagu, the bluestocking queen, described as "the prettiest man in his person, with the sweetest and most happily cultivated of tempers." These pleasant qualities were indeed hereditary in the line; they were specially conspicuous in his sixth Grace, the Colonial Minister's successor, than whom the future George IV, as Prince Regent, found no counsellor more sagacious and true. His only weakness seems to have been the one that was then regarded as proper to his rank and pursuits. "You are," said to him George IV, in April 1828, "one of the few people I can trust in times like these. Dine with me to-day at six." The invitation was accepted. King and subject, host and guest, had so good a time that both were speechless before the evening was out.

The Duke, however, was something more than a mere courtier. The expense of completing Buckingham Palace and other structures, in the then temper of the time, was considered unwise, even outside the Court entourage. The proposed alterations were condemned alike by all outside the Palace circle. It was to the Duke of Leeds himself that, asked for a subscription, the Duke of Wellington said, "If you expect me to put my hand to any additional expense, I'll be d——d if I will!"

A new area in Colonial administration opened with the Secretary of State who succeeded the fifth Duke of Leeds, Lord (Baron, afterwards Viscount) Sydney. During this, his second term of office, a new use was found for the British dominions on the other side of the world. The prisons of the United Kingdom were relieved and their able-bodied inmates utilised by opening up fields for labour in a new world for those classes whose forced labour in the gaols of the old country had hitherto not paid for their keep. This idea was not so much a novelty as the revival of a

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seventeenth-century use found for the North American dominions of Charles II. Here it practically ceased during the year in which began the American War of Independence. In Australia it was first adopted in 1787. With the unbroken rise of our Antipodean dominions to power, wealth and general distinction, a strong movement was made against the system, declared not more in the colonies themselves than at home. In 1864 transportation was discontinued. Long before that the Colonial Office had lost the administrator who has the distinction of having introduced the system to the Antipodes, involving, as this practically did, between 1788 and 1840, the despatch of some 80,000 convicts to Sydney and Norfolk Island.

Transportation, however the system may have been criticised, had firmly established itself among our Colonial methods when in Pitt's first administration he trusted our transoceanic empire to his cousin, William Wyndham Grenville, in the momentous year that witnessed the outbreak of the French Revolution. The relative thus promoted by "the pilot who weathered the storm," belonged to a Buckinghamshire family that had made for itself a distinguished place in the record of British statesmanship and rule. It was on the distaff side that there began the ennoblement of a family which had furnished an earlier Colonial administrator in Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne. So Lord Lansdowne's sixth successor in office, William Wyndham Grenville, the Buckinghamshire squire who created or beautified Dropmore, was the youngest son of the country gentleman who had become Prime Minister (1763-65). It was his grandmother, Countess Temple, who brought a title into the Grenville family. Eton and Oxford did nothing more for the future Colonial Minister than to give him a chance of showing his business aptitudes in the management of

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a school "barring-out," and keeping clear of debt. He had scarcely settled in his Parliamentary place as member for Buckingham when the Prime Minister, his cousin Pitt, having proved his capacity in the office of Paymaster-General, sent him (1787) on two diplomatic missions, to Paris first, to the Hague afterwards. Two years later he returned to the House of Commons as Speaker, at the exceptionally early age of twenty-nine, and, like his famous relative, became a supporter of Wilberforce in the anti-slavery movement.

A well-known twentieth-century Lord Chancellor gave an explanation altogether his own of his unprecedentedly rapid rise to high distinction and valuable practice at the Bar. "It was not," he said, "my Ireland and Hertford or other things of the sort that first commended me to the attorneys, but my performances in the Oxford eleven and at the racquet court." So William Wyndham Grenville found the little personal notoriety won by his Eton escapades had rather recommended him than otherwise to the outside world, and the memory of a school quarrel with perhaps the best-hated man of the time, Lord Sandwich, was in some quarters recalled, not to his disadvantage. Once in office, his power of work and undoubted honesty of purpose won him a reputation and respect almost equal to the personal unpopularity of his awkward, cold and unsympathetic manner. These qualities increased his need in the social duties of his position of domestic assistance rather more winning than he ever seems to have received from his wife, Lady Anne Pitt, the first Lord Camelford's daughter, whom he married (1792) three years after he had become responsible for the British dominions beyond seas. If, as in our own times, an eighteenth-century Colonial Minister had to do any entertaining in connection with his own office, Grenville would have been ideally unfit for the task; he was truly described by himself as unsympathetic, with little sense of

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humour and singularly small knowledge of men. Neither kindly feeling nor geniality of manner had any place in his composition. His clear, impressive and authoritative speaking was of immense service to Pitt, who most reluctantly acquiesced in his transfer to the Foreign Office (1791) and elevation to the Upper House.

No contrast to Grenville could have been greater than that afforded by his successor with the Colonies, Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville, who at the same time became responsible for home affairs, including Ireland. At this time (June 1791) the French Revolution was an actively disturbing influence on the other side of St. George's Channel, aggravating sedition and unrest when not causing open rebellion. Scottish Protestantism combined with English Dissent and Irish Popery to embitter the democratic and republican forces which had crossed the Channel from France to England. Unlike his Colonial predecessor, Dundas had a natural and penetrating insight into human character and a consummate skill in its management. He never lost a friend through his own fault, and never had an enemy whom he failed, should events allow, to show his disposition to placate, even though that enemy might be also at odds with the patron and friend to whom Dundas was devoted, William Pitt himself. Thus in 1789 Fox, not too willingly, at the Heir-apparent's request, had undertaken to deny the Prince's marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The contradiction met, at most, with partial credence. Dundas, who always saw in an actual opponent a potential friend, urged a generous reception of the statement made by his patron's chief rival. Grey, the particular friend of Fox, at once rose to express the faith and satisfaction with which he received everything Dundas had said.

The latter's office, that of Home and Colonial Secretary, made him responsible, as has been said, for Irish affairs. In each of these capacities Dundas

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established a conciliatory and successful precedent. Early in 1793 the religious and political situation in Ireland had become so dangerous that Dundas presaged the coming removal of Catholic disabilities by initiating and carrying the Catholic Relief Bill of February 1793, which secured the Government Irish support in their proposals. As regards all matters, not only of Irish but Colonial administration generally, Dundas was not less in advance of his age than his patron, Pitt, upon all the economic subjects on which he had taken Adam Smith as his master. Nor was there any exaggeration in Pitt's description of the knowledge displayed by Dundas on the transoceanic subjects as "perhaps equalled in the House of Commons, but never excelled." During the Colonial Office period now recalled, the official term of Dundas had been broken, though only for one or two months, by the Duke of Portland's short discharge (August 1794) of the duties of the department. That interruption had resulted from the Duke's transfer from the Whig to the Tory side.

The nineteenth century opens a new departmental chapter in the administrative record now being traced. At the year now reached (1794) the departments of War and Colonies came to be under one and the same Minister; they were not, however, actually united till 1801, when Robert, Lord Hobart, became Secretary of State for the single department. A Tory of the stiffest and straitest sect, he opposed the idea of autonomy in any part of the Empire; had first made his mark by resisting Catholic concessions in Ireland, and had prepared himself as Governor of Madras for administrative duties at home, becoming, in March 1801, Colonial and War Secretary. In that capacity he incurred some unpopularity by opposing the Volunteer movement; and also gave his name to the capital of Tasmania (1804). In the following year a difference with Prime Minister Pitt over the impeachment of Dundas, now Lord Melville, involved his

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retirement from office; in the February of 1816 he died from the effects of a horse accident in St. James's Park, not far from the exact spot on Constitution Hill where, thirty-four years afterwards, a like mishap proved fatal to Sir Robert Peel.

Among the Secretaries for the two combined departments following Hobart was Castlereagh, afterwards Lord Londonderry, who has already appeared in these pages, practically supreme in English politics for a quarter of a century, but associated with no beneficent addition within or beyond the four seas to the statute-book. Yet, no public department has surpassed the Colonial Office in the intellectual distinction and capacity of its high officials. Our fellow-subjects beyond seas had secured the best and most enlightened brains of the old country for their service in Whitehall long before the department was finally organised on something like its still-existing lines. Castlereagh had, no doubt, no very full or clear idea of the majestic dimensions which Greater Britain was destined to attain. His first-rate official capacity and tact were shown by his leadership of the Lower House during ten of its most agitated and critical years (1812-22). Among his near successors was a business statesman so essentially of the modern type as Huskisson, Free Trader born out of due time, the political progenitor of our Peels and Gladstones. But for the fatal mishap at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, Huskisson might have elaborated the enlightened Colonial policy, the credit of whose authorship, as it is, belongs to those who in point of time were his successors.

The most famous work of religious imagination in English, if not in any language, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, was planned and completed in Bedford Gaol. Amid surroundings of the same kind was thought out by its author the system under which our self-governing settlements beyond seas have become the bulwarks

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of an Empire on which the sun never sets. Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) devoted his imprisonment for a Gretna Green marriage to the historical and economic studies qualifying him for the part he always took in South Australian and New Zealand legislation, and afterwards for his services as Lord Durham's secretary on the Canada mission of 1838, after the Canadian rebellion at the opening of the Victorian age. Those events marked the dawn of a Colonial period whose complete novelty and success beyond precedent gave it a place among the chief glories of the reign which opened in 1837. The Colonial Secretary at the time, Lord Glenelg, was apostrophised by Disraeli as the Sleeping Beauty of Downing Street, in one of the most amusing of the Runnymede letters. It was the last term of administrative somnolence that Downing Street ever knew, and was followed, after a short interval of Lord Normanby, by the comparatively stirring Russell régime. But the actual founder of such a Colonial system, as Gibbon Wakefield may well be considered, had no official acquaintance with the principles and results of overseas administration. The Durham letter (1838), anticipating the Canadian constitution of our own time, may have owed its literary form to Charles Butler. Its views were entirely those of Wakefield, and found practical expression in Sir William Molesworth's Colonial administration of 1855. The Colonial policy by that time established owed its Liberal or Radical association to the names just mentioned, and especially to the quarterly periodical, the *Westminster Review*, which Molesworth had spent his money and brains on making an organ of philosophic Radicalism. The principles of Colonial policy then gradually shaping themselves were not in their origin or progress more of a Whig or Liberal than a Tory or Conservative growth. In Downing Street itself it was the very opposite of a philosophic Radical, a Whig, indeed, as he still remained, born in the pre-scientific

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period, as he boasted, and a future Conservative leader, as he died, the fourteenth Lord Derby, who in 1833 emancipated the West Indian slaves.

The department in its Downing Street period was afterwards (1839), as has been already stated, administered by the future Earl, then Lord John, Russell, who was the first to appreciate at their full value the permanent officials, and to deal with the growing demand for self-government in a manner that saved the Empire, if not from disruption, certainly from embarrassment and discredit. "Lord John's" own words about his work and responsibilities had the ring which has sounded through all chapters of our overseas policy from his day to the present.¹ In 1841 Lord John's old opponent and by turns colleague, now Lord Stanley, was in his former post once more, and signalised his new term by reducing the duty on Canadian corn to a shilling a quarter.

The Colonial Office record of the nineteenth century's second quarter associated two other famous names with the work of the department. W. E. Gladstone, returned as Conservative member for Newark in 1832, became thirteen years later Sir Robert Peel's Colonial and War Secretary. In that capacity he proved a strong accession to the most enlightened Colonial politicians of the time, the men, in Lord Morley's words, who "applied to the routine of Government critical principles and improved ideals." The same intellectual fervour already called forth from him by the Church now expended itself on the infinitely various affairs of our overseas dominions. A frequent speaker in committee deliberation on these subjects, he took an active part in examining or involving the policy on the subject of waste lands, then shaping itself, as well as on the legal status of Colonial clergy

¹ For the full text of this remarkable utterance, see Mr. Stuart Reid's *Lord John Russell*, p. 118, in "The Queen's Prime Ministers" Series.

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(Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. I., p. 358). It is worth recalling that during these years (1846-7) he first came into hostile collision with his subsequent colleague and chief, but never real friend, Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, who on the other side of the world led the opposition to convict transportation, already condemned by the Colonial committee of 1838. This was not the only or the first collision in the Gladstonian period between the officialism of Whitehall and our overseas dominions. The zeal for absolute official impeccability lacked, as some thought, absolute discretion in the Colonial Secretary's recall of a local governor, chiefly, as was said, because he fell below the moral standard of the local bishop (Morley, Vol. I. p. 359). In Canada, too, Mr. Gladstone may have shown more zeal than judgment by the terms and temper of his protest against the economic views then prevailing in the Assembly.

The second Earl Grey, the reformer's son, Mr. Gladstone's successor as head of the department, distinguished his administration rather by an unfailing evidence of consummate intellectual power than by personal interest in his work or in the innumerable questions, social and serious interests, then beginning to engage our various dependencies, now for the first time indicated by the comprehensive term "Greater Britain." Even then, however, the importance, personal or political, of the Colonial administrators in Downing Street generally fell much below that of the office they filled. Earl Grey's successor, Sir John Pakington, who lived to become Lord Hampton, granted a constitution to six of our New Zealand settlements. The average readers, like the makers, of the contemporary history of the time were, however, much less interested in his official record than in the information of the Court Circular that, as Minister in attendance at Balmoral, he achieved a deer-stalking success second only to that of Prince Albert him-

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self.¹ The best brains of the country, now periodically recruiting the Colonial Office, belonged as often to a commercial as to a high patrician stock. This fact found a conspicuous illustration in Sir John Pakington's early Downing Street successors. From the sixteenth century onwards our greatest historic houses owed the beginnings of their wealth and the influence it brought to subterranean trade. The nineteenth-century Duke of Newcastle who ruled in Pakington's place (December 1852) came of a stock drawing, like their Graces of Norfolk, Somerset, Wharton and the Egremont Earls, their vast wealth from that coal trade which, more than any other means of money-getting, has opened our peerage to the highest order of intellects. Our happy preservation, therefore, from the curse of an effete, because a "close," aristocracy found its expression, as well as to some extent its cause, in the growing attraction that marked the Victorian age of Colonial politics and administration for the intellectual as well as social flower of the mother country.

Sir George Grey's succession to the Duke of Newcastle (June 1854) introduces a new era in the department, as well as associates it with a family name deriving fresh distinction from the statesman still adorning it and directly descended from the Colonial Secretary of two-thirds of a century ago. For Lord Grey of Fallodon had for his grandfather the Sir George Grey who, during the first half of the Victorian age, became the first Secretary of State for the Colonies, now separated from the department of war. The Grey name and family are associated with some stirring and decisive incidents in the Colonial story of the time. The Lord Grey already mentioned in these pages as Colonial Secretary, and Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, were in office during the same part

¹ Lord Malmesbury's *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II. p. 351.

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of 1847. Their proposal for dealing with convict labour was first to employ the prisoners on some public work at home, such, for instance, as the Portland breakwater. After that the Greys advocated the convicts despatch to a colony for the completion of their industrial term. That, however, was not the view of the colonists, who, except in Western Australia, prepared forcibly to resist the Government plan.

Sir George Grey's successor, the interesting and chivalrous Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea, held the position for only a few weeks, but introduced to the department a name afterwards to become famous in its administration. Before that, however, some among Sidney Herbert's earlier successors may be recalled. Lord John Russell's short second Colonial term (May 15-July 21, 1855) was followed by the earliest recognition of philosophic Radicalism, when the Colonies were given to the already-mentioned Sir William Molesworth. Then came one of the earliest representative men of business promoted to the Cabinet for his enlightened mastery of trading affairs, Henry Labouchere, rewarded for his Liberal loyalty and services to the department by the peerage that in 1859 made him Lord Taunton. This Henry Labouchere the first, uncle of the well-known nineteenth-century M.P., the creator and editor of *Truth*, had for his father the merchant, originally a partner in the Amsterdam Hopes, who transferred their business to London on Napoleon's seizure of Holland; returning to England, this founder of the London Labouchere line found a wife in the sister of the then regnant Baring. Wealth also was forthcoming for the modern Laboucheres from "Labby's" maternal great-grandfather, a governor of Madras, whose descendants established themselves at Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, and supplied Beaconsfield borough with more than one member. The Buckinghamshire Laboucheres are

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thus the country coevals of the Buckinghamshire Rothschilds.

The Colonial Office succession to Lord Taunton includes statesmen so variously representative as the fifteenth Lord Derby (February–May 1858) and the most diversely accomplished *littérateur* of his age: the first Lord Lytton, whose official services were eclipsed by the Colonial interest of his novel, *The Caxtons*. In that story the hero, Pisistratus, personifies his native England, recouping her then comparatively recent American losses by the access of wealth and power beyond her dreams on the other side of the world. Lord Cardwell's Colonial Office term is still linked in many memories with that of his political chief and almost contemporary, Gladstone, by his double distinction in the Oxford Schools, and his own, like Gladstone's, personal relationship to Sir Robert Peel. By mere chance the early travels of Lord Carnarvon, his Colonial successor, with the future Lord Harrowby, then Lord Sandham, for his companion, had not included the lands that afterwards (July 1866–March 1867) he was to administer. He had, however, some family connection with them; for two families from which he claimed descent, the Bedfords and the Longs, had been closely connected with the West Indies, while several found their last resting-place in a Jamaica churchyard. It was during the Carnarvon period that our Colonial fellow-subjects received an important addition to the home privileges already granted them. For the first time Colonial representatives, when visiting the old country on commercial business, *e. g.* the transmission of railway plant and material, became recognised channels of communication between their own State officials and the mother country. Their easy access to the Secretary of State, if not upon occasions even to the sovereign, gratified the colonists as much as it did their representatives, by conferring upon the latter some of the personal distinction

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belonging to the ambassador of a foreign Power. Lord Carnarvon left a personal mark upon the most widely separated portions of the Empire he administered. Something of a family or private connection of the Herberts with the West Indies has been already mentioned. Lord Carnarvon's transatlantic labours were not confined to the Jamaica Kingston whose churchyard contains the graves of his ancestors. They were seen in the Canadian capital of the same name, where the personal initiative of the Secretary of State, supported by the London War Office, promoted the Royal Military College in the chief town of the dominion—an achievement whose full value only made itself felt some twenty-three years ago.

Lord Carnarvon's personal information on the subject enabled the present writer very exactly to state his South African policy. In 1875 President Burgers, of the Transvaal, had agreed that the Republic should come under the British Crown. A year later President Brand, of the Orange Free State, signed a convention surrendering the Griqualand diamond fields to Great Britain for £90,000, on the ground of the Dutch inability to control a large mining population. Hence the steadily growing Carnarvon conviction that South African confederation had come within the range of practical politics. Highclere, near Newbury, Lord Carnarvon's Hampshire home, had become the hospitable meeting-ground of all interested in the home cult of the colonies, then chiefly represented by Sir J. R. Seeley, Anthony Trollope, the novelist, and James Anthony Froude, the historian. The last of these had recently experienced a severe domestic loss which made him sigh for change of scene. That relief he tried to find in a voyage to the Cape (1874-5); it was not an official mission, though made by the confidential friend of a Colonial Secretary. Federation in the Dark Continent was from the first impossible

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without a strong driving force of local resolution in its favour. Froude's zeal for the scheme overbalanced his judgment. The South African politician on whom he relied preferred the assurance of power in provincial vestries to the chance of fame in an Imperial assemblage. Local jealousies proved fatal to collective action. The South African Bill dwindled into an enabling measure. Meanwhile the whirligig of time was working its revenges, and the justification by wisdom of her children was in process of assurance. In his second period of Colonial office (1874-8) Lord Carnarvon saw not only the full fruit of his South African statesmanship, but other beneficent results of the wise and kindly temper which had marked his entire colonial policy. As a boy he had read how in 1782 the Irish Parliament voted £100,000 to the British navy, and how, towards the eighteenth century's close, the West Indian colony, Barbados, volunteered a frigate for the British fleet. He did not live to see the South African gift of an ironclad to our navy in 1897.

After Carnarvon's lamented death (1890) his former colleague, the first Lord Knutsford, approached more nearly in the conduct of the department than any of Carnarvon's successors, to the principles and practice of his old chief. To Joseph Chamberlain the Colonies were a national estate, wanting, however, development, an idea whose germ at least had suggested itself to some of his nineteenth-century forerunners, Lord Carnarvon included.

Meanwhile, the succession of permanent officials at Whitehall had long furnished conclusive proof of the department's growing attraction for the most distinguished and highly-endowed recruits secured in an unbroken succession, year after year, by our Civil Service. This sequence of really great intellects on the permanent Colonial staff opens with the poet of "Philip van Artevelde," also the most inspiring social

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essayist of his generation. Sir Henry Taylor, indeed, never rose to, or, rather, accepted, a permanent Under-Secretaryship. He was yet a Colonial Office clerk in the Downing Street period when the department began its connection with a series of first-rate intellects continuing in unbroken succession till our own time. The first in order of time of those now recalled, James Stephen (1758-1832), founded a family unbrokenly remarkable in all its generations for intellectual gifts of the highest order. Himself a Dorsetshire man of Scotch descent, he had no sooner finished his Winchester schooldays than West Indian family opportunities secured him official employment in the island of St. Kitts. On returning to England he began a new career with his Privy Council practice in prize cases and his entering the House of Commons as member for Tralee. From his West Indian experiences he was a strong opponent of the slave-trade, the case against which was put with the same freshness and force in his Parliamentary speeches and his book about the British West Indies. His early experiences at St. Kitts were followed by the studies, social and political, of our different dependencies qualifying him beyond any lawyer of his time for the position of permanent Colonial Under-Secretary. So began and so grew a great official family which during three generations performed a historic part in the business of empire-building or administering.

The career of the first Stephen has been already recalled. The second James Stephen, the founder's third son (1789-1859), passed from the legal training-house on the Cam, Trinity Hall, to Lincoln's Inn, became Colonial Office Counsel during the nineteenth century's second decade, and connected himself by marriage with the Clapham Evangelicals, more vividly and accurately described by Sir James Stephen himself in his ecclesiastico-biographical essays than even by Thackeray in *The Newcomes* or Sir George Trevelyan

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in his *Macaulay*. The Clapham sect had for its chief eighteenth-century leader John Venn, who combined religious fervour and zeal with serenity of temper and shining common sense. In the pulpit singularly persuasive as well as eloquent, as rector of Clapham, he displayed and expounded Evangelical doctrines in their best and most cultivated shape to a congregation including, among the pick of opulent villadom, the Macaulays and the Thorntons, a future Indian administrator, subsequently Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Grant, and his brother, Sir Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg and Colonial Secretary. In the spiritual and intellectual atmosphere now described, Sir James Stephen's second son, Fitzjames, the future publicist and lawyer, inhaled from childhood the most refining, strengthening and stimulating influences of his time. The first of this extraordinarily gifted and rarely trained line who proceeded from Eton to Cambridge, Fitzjames Stephen, was among the most powerful and scientifically endowed intellects ever sent forth by the mother country to the legal business of its Empire beyond seas. For three years (1869-71) legal member of the Indian Viceroy's Council, he united native with European admiration for his dealing with the hard questions arising out of the law of evidence, as well as for the legal judgment and expositions, some of which, briefly set forth in what he wrote about the criminal law of England and the law of evidence, made those works an encyclopædia not only of English but of Imperial jurisprudence. His perhaps unrivalled power of intellectual concentration he showed by the fact that some of his most elaborate *Saturday Review* articles, like one or two instalments of his *Pall Mall Gazette* "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," were composed in court during the intervals of legal affairs, and admitted of being published with few and slight corrections in proof.

The Downing Street successor of the Stephens links

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the department with a name and family scarcely less conspicuous in its successive generations for intellectual power and accomplishment than the Stephens themselves. The founder of the family now to be recalled, a Devonshire man, John Herman Merivale (1779-1844), like the Stephens a Cambridge graduate, ranked high among the most variously cultivated barristers of his time, and received as a fitting reward for his legal work a commissionership in bankruptcy. The family pre-eminence in *belles lettres* and scholarship was established by the founder's son, Charles Merivale, whose early nineteenth-century contribution to the meeting-ground of later Roman and early Christian thought opened a new department of profane and sacred history, as well as prepared the way for those later researches and writings that have made Sir Samuel Dill the most graphic as well as erudite of interpreters of the spiritual growths or pagan rivalries competing with, and in their turn contributing to, the Christian developments of early Imperial Rome. Charles Merivale, as Dean of Ely, lived till 1893. That distinguished ecclesiastic's brother, Herman Merivale, a Fellow of Balliol and barrister (1832), when Colonial Under-Secretary, maintained for the department, as Lord Houghton once said to another of his Fryston guests, by the family name and associations, something of the intellectual prestige which the department had received from its earlier and prolonged connection with its forty-eight years' chief clerk, Sir Henry Taylor. The intellectual tradition thus established at the Colonial Office was carried on and confirmed when, in the May of 1860, Herman Merivale's transfer to the India Office created for the corresponding Colonial situation the vacancy filled by the succession of Sir F. Rogers to be Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies. The future Lord Blachford, a First-class man, Fellow of Oriel, J. H. Newman's intimate, had been in personal relations with Dr. Pusey associating

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him to some extent¹ with the great man himself in the leadership of the Oxford Movement. The Duke of Newcastle, the political chief under whom Rogers first served, endeared himself after a fashion to his highly-gifted recruit from the most famous of Oxford common-rooms. "In his feelings and ways," as Rogers put it, "a thorough gentleman, ever considerate of those about him, he was yet so stiff that you could never make any conversational remark because it came into your head. He respected other people's position, but was sensible of his own; and his familiarity, friendly enough, was not such as invited a response." Pains-taking, clear-headed and just, he had shown in his war administration an inability to control affairs himself or to select a subordinate equal to the task. Cardwell, who had been Newcastle's Colonial successor, a pattern of Oxford accuracy, industry, clear- and hard-headedness, seemed always to feel on his trial before the House of Commons and always painfully conscious of his vast responsibility. This dread of a Parliamentary scrape, as Rogers put it, combined with an instinct for official propriety, supplied the place of genius by the instinctive skill it seemed to give him in his dealings with and responsibilities to the House of Commons. The future Lord Blachford helped to do for Colonial administration at home something of the work performed previously by Bland Burges at the Foreign Office. Seated in the old arm-chair of his penultimate predecessor, Stephen, he interviewed the clerks about the division of business. The head of his staff, the much-trusted Elliot, was to take North America, Africa and the Mediterranean. The new Permanent Under-Secretary reserved for his personal province legal matters in general everywhere, and Australia, the Eastern colonies and Ceylon in particular. (*The Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 226.) Lord Blachford's

¹ "The great," it will be remembered, was the epithet selected for Pusey by Newman himself.

facile and swift mastery of departmental details equally complex, various and strange when he began his term, was among the official achievements which silenced the suggestion that the Colonial Office, as well, possibly, as one or two other departments, should be exempted from a change in the Secretaryship of State at every change of Government. Such an innovation, it was said, would be in the interests of the public if it performed its dues. Neither Frederic Rogers nor Merivale brought with him to the Colonial Office any special acquaintance with any portion of its varied and peculiar work. Both bequeathed to the Permanent Under-Secretaryship an intellectual tradition that proved of the highest official value. On the whole, therefore, even in the department now dealt with, the advantages of new blood periodically infused, when it goes with first-rate brains, are greater than any official convenience which longer and unbroken converse with overseas affairs might seem to promise.

Newcastle scholar at Eton in a particularly brilliant year, Robert G. W. Herbert, who is next in the Colonial succession, had for his Balliol contemporaries afterwards George C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton; Hornby, the Head, eventually the Provost, of his old school; Chitty, of legal fame, and the brilliant light versifier who, migrating to Christ's on the Cam (1852), changed his earlier patronymic of Blayds to Calverley. All the honours in literary learning yielded by Oxford were crowned by an All Souls fellowship. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Robert Herbert had no taste for the Temple or Lincoln's Inn. He set his mind on the experience only to be gathered beyond seas. His Oxford, though not Balliol, intimate, Sir George Bowen, had become in 1859 the first Governor of the new colony of Queensland. The then Secretary of State, the above-mentioned Duke of Newcastle, offered Mr. Herbert the Queensland Secretaryship. Almost before the new official was aware, his career had bound

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itself up with the politics of the dependency. The first Queensland Parliament met in 1860; it opened with the ex-Colonial Secretary as Prime Minister. His administration lasted till 1866—the longest term of Tory power the colony had ever known. Robert Herbert resigned not because his policy had failed, but because private affairs compelled his return home. Seldom did a British pro-consul bring back with him the record of a more prosperous or eventful term. During those six Queensland years the educational question, together with land laws, had been settled; and trains were running on the first railway which Queensland ever saw. In the home service an equally successful career awaited him. In 1868 he was appointed one of the assistant secretaries at the Board of Trade; two years afterwards he was removed to a like position in the Colonial Office; and in 1871 he became Permanent Under-Secretary. No nineteenth-century Eton and Oxford product combined brighter social qualities with more of intellectual power and a more penetrating observation, and insight into human motive—the highest results of academic training blended with a knowledge of life and character gathered first-hand from every quarter of the globe.

The nineteenth century included Herbert's two nearest successors in the department which he strengthened the whole Empire by adorning. In 1876 the shabby old Downing Street headquarters of our beyond-seas administration had been changed for a structure in the stately Whitehall block, appropriately adjoining the Foreign Office. Here Robert Herbert worked during the last sixteen years of his long and beneficent career. Among his earliest successors was more than one official whom he had trained and who united something of Herbert's Imperial usefulness with personal accomplishments very different from those in which Herbert himself excelled. These pupils included one of the brightest as well as most capable

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officials who ever worked his way up in the department to an Assistant Under-Secretaryship; Edward Fairfield (1892-7) is still remembered among the returned colonists of his period for the bright pungency of his casual talk and the sharp thrusts of his pen-and-ink caricatures. One of these was so apposite and keen as, it was said, to have been the subject of a leading Cabinet Minister's complaint. The incident occurred in the period of the notoriety won by the gigantic quadruped then the talk of two hemispheres. Fairfield had employed a few idle moments at the Colonial Office by adorning the body of the famous elephant "Jumbo" with the unmistakable head and face of the Minister in question. To that statesman the etching somehow or other found its way; he jumped to the conclusion that the artist's official superior had encouraged, if not inspired, the caricaturist's pen. As a consequence the incident became the talk of the town. The over-sensitive statesman owed to the future Colonial Assistant Under-Secretary the "Jumbo" nickname which never forsook him. The pen-and-ink artist who had fluttered the Downing Street doves connected by his official services the Marquess of Ripon's with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Secretaryships of State. Some of his artistic efforts other and later than that already mentioned hit off a truth forgotten or ignored in some Colonial records of the time. These pictorial *jeux d'esprit* pleasantly and opportunely recalled one or two facts worth remembering. Mr. Chamberlain had spoken of our colonies as estates needing development. Fairfield with a few strokes of his pen reminded us that if the phrase had been coined by the magnate of the Midlands, the duty it pointed had been more recently and wisely insisted and acted upon by another of Mr. Chamberlain's predecessors.

The Home Rule discussions then in progress had of course emphasised the supreme need and the great

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results of Imperial unity. Long and often, however, before all this, Lord Rosebery, in and out of Parliament, had discussed the reciprocal responsibility of Great Britain and her overseas possessions. Hence the conclusion pressed home by the speaker that the mother country, while entitled to Colonial contributions for Colonial expense, owed in return to her kin beyond seas a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire. This was no new principle; its Colonial recognition had been already forthcoming in the transoceanic contributions to Imperial defence. To Lord Rosebery thus belongs the distinction of emphasising the mutual responsibility of the mother country¹ and the colonies. Hence, during the summer of 1921, the practical reassertion of Lord Rosebery's principle in the Imperial Conference, which undoubtedly constitutes the most impressive of twentieth-century incidents linking our Colonial fellow-subjects with the British Crown. This was the event which collected in the capital of the British Empire the most accomplished and authoritative representatives of transoceanic statesmanship from all those distant lands constituting the impressive sum of that Greater Britain, the personal part played in whose development and administration by the leading officials of successive reigns has now been traced. The permanent official who arranged the business for this great occasion was Sir George Vandeleur Fiddes, K.C.B., the Under-Secretary who, in succession to Herbert and those immediately following him, Sir E. Wingfield, Sir Montagu F. Ommanney, and Lord Southborough, perpetuates for the department traditions of patriotic service and

¹ Lord Rosebery's argument for Imperial unity was based on the changes wrought by growing and world-wide colonisation. Hence the probability of future wars arising less from European disputes than from those of distant dependencies. Hence, too, the Colonial demand for Imperial defence. From these premises a Colonial voice in the foreign policy of the Empire was the irresistible conclusion.

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personal capacity as beneficent and lasting as those established by his predecessors. Such were the men whose preparatory labours succeeded on the day of the summer solstice in the twelfth year of King George V in bringing together at the Prime Minister's in Downing Street a company of Imperial delegates at once more interesting, more varied and more important than those at any other meetings in that year at Whitehall. The Downing Street sessions thus opening (June 20, 1921) numbered official representatives of every land flying or saluting the British flag. Australia had sent its Prime Minister in the person of Mr. W. M. Hughes, one of the English Premier's Welsh compatriots; New Zealand was also represented by its Premier, Mr. W. F. Massey; Great Britain's sometime enemy but now long since councillor and friend, General Jan C. Smuts, took his place as *amicus curiæ* from South Africa, bringing with him Sir Thomas Smartt and Col. Mentz; the Indian delegates were his Highness the Maharao of Kutch, and M. Srinivasa-Sastri; while Canada sent as its representative Mr. A. Meighen. Such on this great occasion were the guests brought together under the Prime Minister's London roof from every quarter under heaven, and who, if visitors to his Buckinghamshire home, Chequers, beheld in its art galleries and curios the pictorial links connecting the Empire-builders of the seventeenth century with those of the present day. A garden-party in the richly memoried Chequers grounds would have been an excursion into the centuries separating mediæval from modern history. Whether in the Whitehall council-chamber or amid the Buckinghamshire glades and galleries, the entire episode will figure prominently in the combined record of Great and Greater Britain for the picturesque significance of its historic surroundings and the personalities it brought together. The chief Colonial figures at the conference have been already mentioned. Prominent, after the Prime Minister,

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among those who received them were the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill; Mr. Austen Chamberlain; Lord Curzon, the Foreign Office chief; Mr. Arthur Balfour; and the donor of Chequers to British Premiers for all time, Lord Lee of Fareham, English, indeed, by birth but rich in Colonial, especially transatlantic, experience from his Professorship of Tactics at the Canada Military College (1893-8), and his long connection as Military Attaché with our Washington Embassy. The pan-Britannic Conference sessions concluded with an address of loyalty from the assembled delegates to the King, who acknowledged it in a few singularly well-judged words as a record of their conviction "that the Crown is the important link uniting together in cohesion and strength the component parts of our great Empire."

CHAPTER X

INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENTS AND PARALLELS

Historical repetitions that unite the centuries—Emperor Napoleon I and Kaiser Wilhelm II—Two great war periods characterised by remarkable inventive production—The vital question: Is science to safeguard, or to destroy, life?—The imaginative creations of Lord Lytton foreshadowing the realities of twentieth-century warfare—The Army doctor throughout the ages—Sir John Pringle's eighteenth-century services to military hospitals—Our present-day Parliamentary constitution: how it follows a three-centuries-old precedent—Two eras of upheaval in Parliamentary procedure—Lord Knollys, a happily still-surviving personal link between three royal dispensations—The three Fraser brothers—Enduring British traditions of scientific soldiership—A diplomatico-scientific peacetime link: securing the British monopoly of radium—Changes in the personal composition of the Commons—Rothschilds and Russells—The modern representative of an historic line revives an historic social function—Horace and James Smith: their Brighton or Tunbridge Wells circle—"New 'Bolshevik' is but old 'Jacobin' writ large"—Armed Neutralities as century-old forerunners of the League of Nations—The Permanent Court of International Justice at Geneva—Mr. Gladstone on the English people and their need of discipline—Twentieth-century experiences of that process: its warnings, hopes, results and lessons.

"THAT new world which is the old." So in *The Day-dream* wrote incomparably the greatest of nineteenth-century English poets, whose patriotic verse during half a century inspired, consolidated and strengthened the enlargement of the British Empire by the addition of overseas dominions, and especially of

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that island continent which ten years after his own death was to find the first titular controller of its commonwealth in his eldest son, Lord Tennyson the second. On the other hand, neither for this country nor for the world at large has our own age yet witnessed anything like the dawn after Waterloo as a sequel to the German Emperor's miscarriage in the attempt at success where the first Napoleon failed, and from Berlin to terrorise or dominate the habitable world. Both the Imperial prisoner of St. Helena and the retired despot at Doorn rushed upon their fate and consummated their ruin by schemes of conquest whose only limit was to be the planet they inhabited, and who knew no compunction or check in the forces of massacre and misery they let loose. On the other hand, the period of havoc wrought by the first French Emperor and by the last wearer of the German Imperial crown coincided with noticeable outbursts of human inventiveness as remarkable as the ends which they subserved were different. The twenty-one years filled by the Napoleonic wars (1793-1802; 1803-15) witnessed the triumphs of peace won by the genius of Telford in creating, under the Duke of Bridgewater's encouragement, the road and canal system connecting the remotest parts of the kingdom. In little more than a decade after the general pacification of 1815, steam locomotion, after long existence as an idea in the mind of Stephenson and other pioneers, was fairly started on its transforming work. In every department of human industry the sword was transforming itself into the ploughshare; by a universal impulse the greatest minds of the age, not only in England but throughout the world, were bent on recovering for Peace what had been taken away by War; while securities against another world-struggle were sought in the universal diffusion of the blessings, the comfort and the prosperity of peace. What is the present and what are the portents of the future, after the cata-

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clysmic upheaval in whose ground-swell the earth still rocks? Visiting Constantinople during his vacation travels, the present Lord Knutsford's grandfather, the famous physician, the first Sir Henry Holland, was asked by the Sultan whether he knew of any poison at once so deadly and safe as immediately to kill its victim and leave no trace behind it. The great doctor replied that "as a medical man his concern had been to save life and not to destroy it." Very different in this third year of the 1919 peace are the thoughts of some at least among its signatories. What seems to these less a cessation from strife than a recuperative period preliminary to a new conflict has brought with it no unanimous resolve or perhaps even desire to secure the world against the renewal of strife on the first opportunity convenient to some of the belligerents. During the past years of struggle, the efforts of science were not less signal than those immediately preceding or accompanying the close of the Napoleonic struggle exactly six years more than a century ago. Their object, however, with scarcely an exception, was the exact opposite of that which had formed the chief motive of the beneficent advances made by science in a corresponding portion of the earlier century. The object then was to increase the conveniences and comforts of life; a hundred years later the most scientific and enlightened of the new inventors were concerned chiefly to multiply the risk or increase the certainty of death.

The first Lord Lytton bequeathed to his accomplished son a knowledge of the German mind in its scientific and popular working resembling that which afterwards coloured Longfellow's "Hyperion." He also anticipated in the eighties the second Kaiser Wilhelm's description of war as the greatest of German industries. The 1870 German bombardment of Paris suggested to him an agency in the art of destruction like "vril," so powerful as to "annul all superiority

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in numbers, discipline or military skill.”¹ Yet in his wildest visions of fancy the first Lord Lytton, it is interesting to recall, bore in mind the scientific caution against the arbitrary use of hypothesis as an instrument of philosophic discovery and progress. The boldest visions of his fancy were always subject to the strong intellect controlling the imagination that remained vivid and luxuriant to the last. Less than half a century after his death the twentieth-century world struggle, of which his genius may not have been without a presentiment, brought into action lethal forces only a little, if at all, less mysterious than that described in *The Coming Race*. The sweeping and all but invisible forces of marine and submarine warfare perfected during the present century have shown themselves, if anything, more, rather than less, mysterious than the monosyllabic agency of wholesale destruction described by the nineteenth-century novelist. In the French literary or scientific circles so well known to Lord Lytton, the idea of the submarine had been more or less familiar long before there seemed a possibility of its becoming the deadly ambushade of the high seas. Its extremely gradual progress to deadly perfection had been closely followed by him from the first, when it was elaborated about the middle of the nineteenth century; at that time more than one of the Great Powers thought of giving effect to the idea, though it was not till 1883 that the Swedish brought the invention to a really successful result.

On the other hand, the growing connection of physical discovery with war has not been homicidal exclusively in its tendency or results; these, indeed, without much solution of continuity, have on the whole been steadily progressive from the prehistoric battlefields of Asia Minor to those of France and

¹ *The Coming Race* (Knebworth Edition), p. 56.

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Flanders in the latest and most sanguinary of modern wars. The sole or chief civilians immortalised in the *Iliad* for services to their military compatriots were the two medical brethren, Podalirius and Machaon, who co-operated to heal the most famous of their compatriot archers, Philoctetes, when struck down by a Trojan arrow. The philosophers, however, who confined themselves exclusively to the sick, came in with the fifth century. The Arabian commentators early in the Christian era developed one aspect of Greek thought into a philosophic mysticism. A little later Aristotle's Oriental disciples recognised in their Hellenic master the founder of the medical profession. Not till the age of Vesalius in the sixteenth century did the healing profession separate itself into its two great divisions. The social and professional distinction between physician and surgeon established itself during the same part of the eighteenth century as that marked by the beginnings of an Army Medical Corps; this development was personally distinguished during the eighteenth century by a famous family still filling a place of honour in the Medical List, headed to-day by its ninth baronet, Sir Norman Pringle, whose ancestor of the Stuart restoration period was the first baronet of his line. This was Sir John Pringle, a Lowland laird whose son, the second baronet, eventually became the first physician of his line and an epoch-making practitioner in the medical surgery of his period, thus making himself a place among those contemporary brother Scots who in the early Georgian era prepared the way for Sir William MacCormac, Dr. Alan Herbert and other alleviators of suffering in the nineteenth-century Franco-German War. His services, not less than the period in which they were rendered, give the second Pringle baronet, also Sir John, a place among the fathers of modern military medicine. He was the product of an age as well as the possessor of personal associations con-

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necting him with medical science in its British infancy. Intended at first for a commercial career, he was for a short time a St. Andrew's undergraduate. The close connection of those times between Scotland and Holland took him to Leyden as the first stage in a commercial education to be completed at Amsterdam. There, however, he accidentally heard one of Boerhaave's lectures, which changed all his purposes, and decided in an unforeseen direction his future course; a Dutch fellow-student, Van Swieten, secured Pringle for his college companion at Vienna. In 1730 he took his degree of M.D. at the Austrian capital. From the first his tastes and accomplishments were literary as well as scientific. Exchanging Leyden for Edinburgh, he filled the University chair of Moral Philosophy, without, during many years, any thought of changing his course. In 1742 he was on the staff of Lord Stair in the Netherlands, at the head of the British troops sent to support the young Queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa, against the aggression of the French monarchy. By the middle of the eighteenth century military hospitals had become general, but were for the most part at such a distance from the camp that medical help could often not be secured till it was too late. To Dr. Pringle during the eighteenth-century Netherlands campaign belonged the distinction of reforming this evil. At his suggestion the British commander, Lord Stair, approached the Duc de Noailles, the French general, on the subject, with the result that on both sides hospitals were to be regarded as inviolable. Pringle himself witnessed the beginning of the new humane order at the battle of Dettingen (1743), when the Anglo-Hanoverian victory caused the French withdrawal from the invaded territory. Born out of due time, Pringle equally by his accomplishments and his humanity is to be recalled as the earliest army doctor of the new and enlightened kind. The latest discoveries and science of his age found a place

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in his treatise on gaol or hospital fever, as well as in his work, not yet quite out of date, on army diseases. Finally, his experiments upon septic and antiseptic substances, with their use in the theory of medicine, formed a general presage of Lord Lister's nineteenth-century discoveries and reforms. But for his period and its medical or sanitary conditions, the second Pringle baronet might have been a worker of our own time, while his European reputation was as universal and high as that of Sir Henry Holland or Sir Henry Thompson in days nearer our own.

The eighteenth-century founder or forerunner of our own Army Medical Corps, alike in professional attainments, services and intellectual calibre, presaged at most personal points the best nineteenth- and twentieth-century workers in the same field. So, too, in other learned callings more or less closely connected with Church or State, the foremost figures of the neo-Georgian era, by origin or association, come from the same social order as showed signs of self-assertion in the Middle Ages, and in the next century organised their socio-political life. In the present years of King George V the Prime Minister is drawn from a section of the middle class closely corresponding in its composition, interests and influence to that which three hundred years ago supplied Hampden, Pym, and their associates in establishing a national polity that has so far outlived the changes and chances of time, as well as the successive adaptation of its machinery and methods to the needs of the passing hour or to its controllers' whim.

“Brewers and bankers, birds of evil omen :
Enormous fellows with immense abdomen ;
Flashy directors with their diamond rings :—
Such are the sum of our six hundred kings.”

So amusingly but most unjustly wrote a nineteenth-century satirist, Mortimer Collins, in *A Letter to*

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Disraeli. Sir Thomas Acland was then conspicuous among the "men of metal and large-acred squires," most of whom opposed Mr. Gladstone as their predecessors had opposed and deserted Peel, to vote, not on the Disraelian, but on the Gladstonian side. In Lord Chaplin the House of Commons lost the last of its typically representative squires. The great capitalists who are also great landlords still connect it with the particular interest so picturesquely described by Lord George Bentinck's biographer.

The amusing scamp whose death warrant Charles II. on his restoration would not sign, "Harry Marten," was also among the earliest of those facetious Parliament men whose gay wisdom¹ made him "the droll of St. Stephen's," and whose successors have never been wanting to its social enlivenment from that day to this. The eighteenth-century wits who wrote the *Rolliad* or appropriated its jokes were followed at St. Stephen's in the next century by a succession of Parliamentary wags, beginning with Bernal Osborne and continuing with Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff. The facetious succession has prolonged itself to the present Georgian era. In 1905 Lord Atkinson exchanged his seat at St. Stephen's for the Court of Appeal. Many readers of these lines may have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with his wittily sententious conversational vein. That pleasant experience will enable them to form a tolerably complete notion of the Parliamentary table-talk to be heard at its best from the still unforgotten Victorians whose ready epigram and repartee did so much to relieve the dulness of debate or the threadbare trivialities beguiling the brief absence of Mr. Speaker to take his chop. From 1832 to 1884 every enlargement of the franchise portended, according to the pessimists,

¹ The phrase, of course, is Disraeli's, applied by him to the second Sir Wilfrid Lawson, now, unfortunately, without a descendant at St. Stephen's.

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the social deterioration of the Assembly. Evils still worse were to result from the agricultural labourers' enfranchisement (1885) and the formation of the Labour Party some eight years later. In both cases the new members followed the footsteps or improved on the example of the old. Displaying that imitation which is the best form of flattery, they appeared in their places bringing with them the despatch-boxes and other Parliamentary impedimenta hitherto reserved for the Treasury Bench. Above all things they kept the Kitchen Committee up to the mark. "Call this a House of Commons?—I call it a house of short-commons!" said one industrial M.P., when compelled for supper to fall back on the dish described by him as "two and a stepper." At the same time one of his colleagues made a serious complaint that some cutlets ordered by him were not served *en papillote*. To such refinements of cuisine the agrarian rank and file at St. Stephen's throughout the last century were strangers.

The changes in Parliamentary procedure and life produced by the nineteenth-century Reform Bills were really more far-reaching than those effected during the present reign. The first quarter of the twentieth century linked itself with the Gladstonian period by changes in Parliamentary procedure, proposed, discussed or actually effected. On May 14, 1920, took place the Speaker's devolution conference, with results too important for casual Parliamentary debate or too unattractive for newspaper discussion. Among its suggestions were the provision by St. Stephen's of local assemblies after its own pattern, the creation of a new second Chamber, though of the old ennobled composition, as well as of grand Councils for duties more or less undefined. Next to the then Speaker, the most active promoter of domestic reform in the Chamber was Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald. Alike, however, as regards lasting effects, the Parliamentary

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interest and importance of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century were chiefly of a social and personal kind. The weekly adjournment after the Friday sitting caused a dispersion of members almost fatal to the old social life of Parliament. The topics of the time favoured the rise and progress of the greatest political leader whom the twentieth century has yet known. The closing years of the Victorian age¹ were linked to the epoch which has followed them by the presence in the people's House of a figure as remarkable and powerful as any of those controlling it in our own or other times. Mr. Lloyd George's advance to national ascendancy and to world-wide fame fills too large a space in our political and imperial story for the recapitulation of its successive stages now. The War had still to produce its full, final and, as would seem, its enduring effects upon the national character and life when this man of his time foresaw and declared the obsolescence of the old party shibboleths and the disappearance of the once familiar landmarks. The horizon, he told his hearers at Bangor (August 5, 1915), could not but cause anxiety, but not necessarily dread. Even then he could see new hope empurpling the sky, and in the German artillery unshackling Russia hear sounds that foretold the shattered bars that fettered or confined her people. The confident note thus sounded deepened the immediate effect of a widely stirring speech. Very shortly afterwards the protest of the Duma against compulsory prorogation was followed by its re-assemblage. The Budget of 1909 and the National Health Insurance Act two years afterwards had created a profound impression of Mr. Lloyd George's resourcefulness and will-power.

¹ Of that epoch at this present writing few still remain. Among those whose names are still charged with notable interest or associations are Mr. Abel Smith and Sir Walter Morrison, still happily with us.

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A little later language and incidents like those now recalled clothed him to the popular mind with something of prophetic power that almost seemed to make him master of the future as well as lord of the present.

The vitality of the courtiers uniformly surpasses that of the Parliament men. Hence the Palace connection with historic families of widely distant periods through successive generations. Thus in Viscount and Miss Knollys there are still happily spared to a third Royal generation a brother and sister not only trained from earliest days in the wisest because the most gracious conditions of courtiership, but taught by the varied experience of all social levels that English loyalty as the twentieth century knows it is the product of a conviction strengthened or illustrated afresh during all recent reigns by royal concern for and promotion of the welfare, not of particular classes, but of an entire people in their daily life and needs. The Prince Consort and his eldest son differed sufficiently from each other in habit, temper and tastes, but the same shrewd, balanced discernment of character and its qualifying aptitudes for national not less than personal service were common in the same degree to both. They were, in fact, hereditary as well as personal gifts. They were no common qualities which prompted Queen Elizabeth's choice of the sixteenth-century Sir Francis Knollys for her household treasurer. Transmitted to his nineteenth-century descendant, they made the Victorian Sir William Knollys the first commander of the Aldershot camp, a leading member of the committee on military education, and "governor" to the Prince of Wales till 1877. Meanwhile the twentieth-century Viscount Knollys had become (January 1863) secretary to the Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household first, afterwards (1870) the future King Edward's private secretary, conducting all his corre-

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spondence. The disinterested and often self-sacrificing sagacity shown by Lord Knollys in the performance of these duties has constituted services not only to his royal chief, but to the monarchy and the Empire itself, more lasting and deep even than they are represented by the best-informed and most accurate of contemporary Court historians, Lord Esher, who is conspicuous to-day among those experts in that mundane wisdom and insight into life and character upon most social levels, of which Charles Greville, George Payne, Alfred Montgomery, Henry Calcraft, Lord Orford and Ouseley Higgins were in another age past masters. Except, indeed, the Reginald Brett of Victorian days, the twentieth century so far possesses no representative of the socio-intellectual blend formerly personified by at least two of the three Fraser brothers, Charles and Keith. The former of these, it may now be recalled, so far back as 1904, when on his European travels, discovered the plan even then being concerted by the Berlin General Staff for the invasion of Belgium. "The Duke of Wellington," General Charles Fraser liked to recall, "owed much of his scientific soldieryship to the study of military history for at least an hour almost daily. His letters show how he set the example to those who came after him of estimating to a nicety the aptitude of their officers and the exact conditions needful for their success. 'In doing that,' said the Duke, 'there is no novelty, for it has been the practice of all commanders worth anything, from Hannibal and Cæsar down to Marlborough, and so it will remain till the end of time. One has, of course, to know what is passing on the other side of the hedge,' but," continued Fraser, quoting Wellington, "a commander's first duty is such a knowledge in every part of the men he handles as to ensure him against blunders in their collective operations." Wellington's ideals of efficiency in the field were those of the greatest among his followers,

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and unite his own period with that of a Roberts, a Wolseley, a Kitchener and a Haig to-day.

So far as regards the work and associations of war-time. These three years following the 1918 Armistice include an incident, reported by the newspapers during the September of 1921, aptly illustrative of the secular connection between physics and politics. What "Jesuits' bark," now known as quinine, was in the medical wonderland of the Middle Ages, radium has in our day become. The full virtues of the earlier drug remained unknown long after its discovery had been first made (1535); quinine only secured its present place in the Pharmacopœia when in the second half of the next century it cured Louis XIV, as Dauphin, of fever. Never, perhaps, incalculably precious like the substance, knowledge of whose powers science owes to Madame Curie, the bark of the Peruvian cinchona was sold for its weight in silver some time after its seventeenth-century introduction into France. Afterwards the drug divided or united European and transatlantic diplomacy, for during the period just mentioned it became something of an international question. To-day, radium has invested itself with the same importance. The newspapers present it as the subject of an international convention, the parties to which are the Czecho-Slovak Government and the Imperial and Foreign Corporation of London. The importance of such an agreement can scarcely be exaggerated; for the one European country so far known to produce radium has signed and sealed terms for its future supply, creating it a British monopoly. The result of this international compact soon made itself practically felt. The closing years of the nineteenth-century Franco-German War and the progress of the more momentous struggle some forty years afterwards were both marked at certain stages by hairbreadth escapes in conveying precious metals, stones or art treasures from the battle-zone to some place of safety. All

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earlier adventures of this sort were eclipsed in dramatic interest by Professor Soddy's personal escort from Prague to London of radium in a larger quantity—two grammes—than has ever been collected and conveyed from one end of Europe to the other before. £70,000 was the value of the precious substance forming part of the Professor's luggage. This was guarded night and day with every conceivable precaution; as it proved, the Professor, with his sole companions, his wife and secretary, were shot at as they passed through Munich. Careful packing in a thick leaden casket had provided against the risk en route of emanations such as might have produced malignant sores on those who handled the costly consignment. On the evening of September 25, 1921, the travellers with their treasure were safely landed at Victoria Station, and a few minutes later the radium was safely deposited in a Foreign Office safe.

The latest and perhaps the greatest among the Greek play bishops, Blomfield of London, was also the last wearer of the episcopal wig. Samuel Wilberforce, just a quarter of a century his senior, took no great interest in classics but a great deal in physical science of all kinds, and suggested to the editors, if he did not actually sometimes write the articles, the interest in scientific progress and discoveries taken by newspaper readers of every class. "It began," he used to say, "with the seventeenth-century Stuart restoration. It was increased, or perhaps rather revived by Brewster, Murchison and the others who went to found the British Association in the thirties; it will fascinate, train and strengthen the popular mind long after the old classical and literary training has lost alike its greatest teachers and aptest pupils, and in the next age to ours will prove the prolific parent of literary accomplishment itself." As regards personal aspect, the Victorian House of Commons linked itself as closely with the Georgian age as did the

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Episcopal Bench. Mr. C. N. Newdegate and Sir John Mowbray in their bearing and costume perpetuated the personal traditions which brought back to their contemporaries "in their habit as they lived" the top-booted squires who had emphasised the points made by Fox or Pitt with shouts of "Hear him!" The old approbatory formula, like the old House of Commons costume, connected the early Georgian with the Victorian age at St. Stephen's. Mr. Balfour's Parliamentary colleague in the City representation, Sir Frederick Banbury, can recall veterans like Mr. George Byng (Middlesex M.P., 1790-1846), within whose experience the top-boots of the Pitt and Fox period formed part of the Parliamentary costume.

The old Parliamentary stocks have long shown much less vitality than was displayed within recent memory by the Parliamentary survivors of the historic families to which they belong. The present neo-Georgian age possesses no House of Commons survivors of those who in the last generation connected the household suffrage period with the great Revolution families. Bedfordshire no longer contributes to St. Stephen's a Russell, or even, since 1910, a Whitbread. Somerset sends neither Portman, Luttrell nor Hood. Alnwick is to-day effectively represented at Westminster, but in "another place" by its ducal owner. The single Parliamentary Percy of the Lower House is the Northumberland coroner, trained by wisely-planned travel to a rare knowledge of social, political and economic Europe; and in the south the only Acland sits for a Cornish division. But Hertfordshire remains true to its Cecils, and a Herbert (the Hon. Aubrey) revives the West-Country traditions of his family in the Yeovil division of Somerset. The south-east Midlands in their various constituencies still unite Parliamentarians of the old order and the new to the same varied extent as they have always done. Till close on the twentieth century Aylesbury still returned

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a Russell and a Rothschild, both men of high intellectual accomplishment as well as closely allied by family with the old and new Parliamentary order. Mr. G. W. E. Russell was joined by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild in the representation of Aylesbury five years after first becoming its member. To-day a Rothschild of the new generation, the late Leopold Rothschild's son, is the one member of the New Court dynasty to connect his name with the family which has done so much to promote the welfare of the home counties.

Another Harrow scholar, also bearing an old Parliamentary name, Sir George Trevelyan, resigned (1897) his seat at St. Stephen's to devote himself entirely to letters. About the same time his example was followed by the most variously accomplished of the political family to which he belonged. George Russell had not often come out second best in his House of Commons encounters with Lord Randolph Churchill; with his pen he showed himself to have inherited not a few of the gifts which formed the earliest title to fame in the case of his uncle, Lord John (afterwards first Earl) Russell. The family genius has made the second Earl Russell one of the two best speakers in the House of Lords. Exercised in another direction it has placed his brother Bertrand among the profoundest metaphysicians of the time. These attainments, however, are exercised on subjects so profound and with so little regard to the taste and capacity of ordinary readers that his public appreciation remains below his deserts. His *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* will, it is to be feared, remain as unpopular as it is profound.

On the Tory side the Russells still have their hereditary rivals in those of the Vane-Tempest-Stewart name and the Londonderry marquissate. By events very different from those first introducing it to our national history, the twentieth century has re-invested that family with something of its old importance and

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interest. These Ayrshire Stewarts, as they began by being, received as the reward of their Stuart loyalty the estates which during the seventeenth century took them to Ireland during the reign of the first James, and settled them at Mount Stewart, in county Down. On the English side of St. George's Channel the third Lord Londonderry greatly increased the family wealth by his early nineteenth-century marriage with Sir Henry Vane-Tempest's daughter and heiress, bringing as it did Wynyard, with all its belongings, into the Stewart family. Of that union the chief twentieth-century representative is the seventh bearer of the Londonderry title, the inheritor from the unjustly-underrated Foreign Secretary in the early eighteen hundreds of the sound sense which enabled that ancestor, though a poor speaker, successfully to lead the House of Commons for thirteen difficult years. The Park Lane house of this remarkably vital family witnessed during the Easter session of 1920 one of the few successful attempts to revive those social functions which first made it famous from the days of the second Pitt to those of the only Lord Beaconsfield. The "drums" of the old Georgian and Victorian era were thought to have gone not less completely out of date than the name by which they were known. The Friday rising of the two Houses has become the signal for a socio-political exodus from London as complete while it lasts as that of the autumn holiday. On the occasion now recalled, Lady Londonderry, with a really astonishing success, brought together the leaders of her party and its chief members as well as, in numbers numberless, the ordinary M.P. and his wife. Everything was in the old picturesquely impressive manner, except that the hostess, unlike her predecessor in the eighteen hundreds, did not sit on a canopied throne to receive her guests. Some of the nineteenth-century hostesses, indeed, who did so much for their family and party, like Lady Stanhope and Lady Haversham, are

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still happily here. They live, however, in retirement, and the task of socio-political entertainment, if performed at all, is descending to ladies of the new régime. Feminine tact and adaptability are the endowments of the sex itself rather than of any particular order. So it proved in the nineteenth-century polite system of our great provincial capitals. The same experience probably will have repeated itself before the Labour party forms its first administration.

On other social levels than those just mentioned, links of a more popular kind have in our own day connected the centuries. Horace and James Smith, the founders of literary parody in the pre-Victorian age, divided their time between Hanover Crescent or Cavendish Place, Brighton, and a house till quite recently standing close to the Tunbridge Wells Pantiles. At both places the brothers were frequently visited by Dickens, Thackeray, Samuel Rogers, Sydney Smith, Copley Fielding, Harrison Ainsworth, Professor Owen the zoologist, H. T. Buckle the historian of civilisation, and Charles Kean. Horace Smith lived throughout the first half of the nineteenth century; his two sisters flourished as literary hostesses at Sillwood Place, Brighton, during that period. Among the Smith visitors was one whose aged, tall, unbent form had been known for a quarter of a century under the shadow of the Pavilion or on the Brighton sea-front. This was the Rev. James Pycroft, whose book, *The Cricket Field*, once passed for a manual of the game on which he had made himself a real authority, and which he did something towards promoting on that south coast where he made his home.

The closest points of international contact between to-day and the day before yesterday are not all as pleasant as those now mentioned. The men who engineered the French Revolution of an earlier Georgian epoch have their political descendants in the twentieth-century Bolshevik propagandists, whose aim is world-

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wide anarchy and destruction by "direct action," and whose means may at any moment become indiscriminate massacre. The exact precedent for this presented itself when in the eighteenth century's last decade the Convention offered fraternity and help to all nations showing their love for liberty by insurrection against the Governments under which they lived. Such are the international parallels and links recently recalled in the *Daily Telegraph* by the most accomplished publicist of his time, Sir Sidney Lee, who further reminds his readers that the Republican foreign office in eighteenth-century Paris worded its despatches in the same pleasing terms as those a little more than a century afterwards reaching Mr. Balfour or Lord Curzon from Petrograd. The nineteenth century opened with the interchange of Anglo-Russian Armed Neutrality "notes." That series had for its sequel fifteen years later the Tsar Alexander's Holy Alliance overtures. The movement was resumed a little more than half a century later at the close of the Franco-Prussian War, when in the August of 1871 the Vienna correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Beatty Kingston, obtained early and exclusive news of the steps taken by the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, to associate the European Powers, great and small, in a new league of peace. Near three-quarters of a century (1800-71) were marked by the successive efforts of European monarchs and diplomatists to educate the world for the new international era introduced chiefly by Anglo-Saxon zeal and patience during the twentieth century's first quarter. As regards the Geneva "Parliament of Man," to apply Tennyson's description, its record will always be that of an essentially Anglo-Saxon conception, designed by President Wilson, but indebted for activity in its present form to his successor, President Harding. To those names history will make important additions in a British Foreign Minister during part of the War period, Lord Grey

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of Fallodon, and in an ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Balfour, recalling by his calm, strong wisdom at the Geneva sessions not only his uncle, the great Lord Salisbury of our time, but his maternal sixteenth-century ancestor, the great Lord Burleigh himself. Thus in the Geneva talk about Poland, the historic Cecilian wisdom of two generations condensed itself into Mr. Balfour's short, decisive, though imperturbably bland way with the Polish general Zeligowski, reproducing the tone, temper, almost the exact letter of his uncle's and Lord Beaconsfield's attitude at the Berlin Congress (June, 1878) toward the Russian claim for garrisoning the Balkans. Charm of manner has always characterised Mr. Balfour's Parliamentary methods; combined with the long-sightedness of his uncle and his Elizabethan ancestors, it has removed from the Geneva discussion of the League of Nations difficulties whose less skilled and less gracious treatment might have proved early dangers to European peace.

Short views and hand-to-mouth measures have been British diplomacy's bane. "An ambassador," said Mr. Balfour's godfather, the Duke of Wellington, "need not be an inspired prophet, but he should always know what is happening on the other side of the hedge." Lord Salisbury's deep natural affection showed itself in the interest with which he followed all that concerned his favourite sister's sons, connected with him not only by blood but by similarity of intellectual taste and accomplishment. Mr. Arthur Balfour's visit with his uncle to Berlin in 1878 marked a stage in his diplomatic education; and among the future developments foreseen by his prescient statesmanship was not only the break-up of the two-party system, but some arrangement like the League of Nations if Europe was to be kept from international suicide. Family tradition, therefore, as well as pre-eminent personal qualification for the task, could have

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suggested nothing more in keeping with the fitness of things than the leadership in the world's peace movement with which events have combined to invest Mr. Balfour. Apart from the training of family associations, Mr. Balfour qualified himself by little less than a quarter of a century's experience for the delicate and momentous duties imposed on him by the latest Geneva meeting of the world's international Parliament. For in August 1898 the Russian Foreign Minister, Count Muravieff, on behalf of his Imperial master, invited the diplomatists of the world to a conference as a step to assure mankind of lasting peace, and as among the means to that end of preventing or discouraging the huge armaments at once the cause and preparation of war. In May 1899, under the presidency of M. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador in London, the world's representatives met at the Hague. The German delegate, Colonel von Schwartzhoff, at an early stage of the proceedings protested against the notion that growing armaments were necessarily an international calamity and danger. Never, he said, at least in his native land, had military organisation kept such close step with every form of national well-being. Then came the question whether humanity in the conduct of war might not be promoted by the disuse of the dum-dum bullet. On that subject the German delegate remained silent. The Swiss and Dutch representatives strongly supported the humane motion. Eventually this particular implement of destruction was vetoed. The great feature, however, in the conference was Sir Julian Pauncefote's proposal for creating a permanent Committee of International Arbitration. After little less than a quarter of a century, great men's utterances should be cautiously recalled. On the subject of Lord Pauncefote's Hague proposal in 1899, there seems, however, little to discredit the current belief that Lord Salisbury not only favoured the idea, but added that "if the European nations were to be prevented from

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committing suicide, something of the sort *must* be done."

In Lord Salisbury himself the sagacity and moderation born of intellectual power were an increasing growth almost to the last. Those great gifts descended to his nephew, in whom they became the international forces which have gone some way towards fulfilling the *Locksley Hall* dream, "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." So long since as December 1920 the League decided on establishing an International Court of Justice, whose powers it defined in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant. This new Court will be one of permanent arbitration, sitting in the Hague Palace of Peace. The judges forming this body represent admittedly the best legal brains not only of Europe, but of the transatlantic states as well as of the furthest East, China and Japan. Every great legal system known in any part of the world will have at least one among its greatest experts. So far the omens are at least auspicious. The League of Nations is apparently being taken seriously by statesmen and peoples, while its decisions receive fresh authority from the international acquiescence which almost daily they secure.

The electoral nations are fifteen in number; each contribute a representative of more than national authority and legal learning, the unanimous choice in every case of selecting committees. The British representative chosen united all suffrages in his favour; for Lord Finlay of Nairne is an international lawyer combining with deep and wide professional attainments the knowledge of and insight into human nature and its social not less than legal treatment. In something like the same degree as the late Lord Russell of Killowen Lord Finlay's profound knowledge of jurisprudence goes together with the accomplishments, knowledge and tastes making him also a complete and far-seeing man of the world.

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The Geneva selections had scarcely been made when another member of the Cecil family treated the subject of a world-peace in a speech curiously recalling his father's style at the same age. The League itself includes various Commissions for dealing with international details. One of those topics (September 27, 1921) produced a keen debate on universal disarmament: should the mixed Armaments Committee prepare before the next meeting a plan for not endangering peace by extensive preparations for war? This idea united in opposition to it one of the English delegates, Mr. Fisher, and the French representative, Senator Raynald, who thought it premature. Lord Robert Cecil, the scheme's strong supporter, adroitly, as in the end successfully, disposed of the Anglo-French opposition, with the result that he carried the whole assembly with him in his great peace move.

Few memories to-day go back in fullness or clearness of detail to the years including and following the Crimean War. The earlier period in its general characteristics at home as well as abroad abounds in close resemblances of detail or of general condition and progress to the incidents and interests, social or political, with which after the great struggle of our own time the atmosphere is charged to-day, even as it was then. The Treaty of Paris (1856) was accompanied or preceded by difficulties and discussions as complex and dangerous as any of those that have confronted the twentieth-century peacemakers. At Paris in 1856 the British representatives had a task even more difficult than any of those confronting their twentieth-century successors in the thinly-veiled malignity combining the Austrian and Russian plenipotentiaries against them. The statesmanship of both those nations was indeed more concerned to sow dissension between England and France than to re-establish European peace. In that attempt it should not be forgotten that Napoleon III, speaking

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in the Corps Législatif (March 5, 1856), readily acknowledged the indebtedness not only of France but of Europe to the British alliance, and declined to employ French diplomacy as an anti-English weapon. In the year just mentioned, the British soldiers' return from Eastern Europe to a country and a capital not, indeed, quite changed out of knowledge, but in their social life, prominent fashions, social and intellectual interests conspicuously differing from the city and the nation they had left only a few years before. Something of a like experience has been the lot of their twentieth-century successors in arms, on their return to the once familiar scenes and to such of the old occupations as time and change have spared. Their country's battles fought and their arms laid down, the ex-soldiers, on their gradual re-establishment in their old homes, found themselves in a daily life whose conditions had been entirely transformed in their absence, but whose latest developments, aspects and interests closely recalled the novel experiences awaiting their ancestors in arms restored in mid-nineteenth century England to the toils or pleasures of peace. The work or play of that time had little in common with the sports and pastimes of to-day. Some Amazons, indeed, of the Row, the hunting-field and the racecourse may be still as well known to every class from the society Press as the philo-Stuart mistress of Osbaldistone Hall herself. But Diana Vernon, were she with us to-day, would have to look for her twentieth-century descendants less in the hunting-field or paddock than on the golf links or in the tennis court. Sir Walter's sportswoman herself would have a very short way with the scientific commentators on the athleticism for which she set the seventeenth-century fashion. *Solvitur ambulando*. The great medicine-men of the neo-Georgian era may after their fashion disagree about the suitability of the feminine physique for the sports formerly restricted to

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the mere man. She would point to the outward and visible signs of her own and her sisters' high health as a conclusive answer to the medical censors who see the signs of sex deterioration in the Amazonian pastimes of the period. A back look at the *Punch* pictures of the earlier epoch now recalled reminds one that like predictions of feminine mischief, physical and even social, were based by croakers of both sexes upon the universal charm with which the pencil of John Leech invested the chase. From Mark Lemon, then, as for thirty years, editor of *Punch*, the present writer had it that during the nineteenth century's second half he constantly received complaints from paterfamilias of the inconvenient enthusiasm for the "pursuit of kings" with which the great artist of the paper inspired his younger womankind.

In other matters the post-Crimean period was charged with interests or associations of family resemblance to those pervading the present years of peace reconstruction. The national Church after the revival of Convocation (1852) was congratulating itself on the decline of polemical theology when the *Essays and Reviews* agitation (1860) was followed by the Gorham judgment and Archdeacon Denison's prosecution. This revival of religious strife had for its sequel the first Lambeth Conference and the early Ritual prosecutions. On every side and among all sects there followed a reawakening to spiritual life. Of that process it may be that few signs are visible to-day. In 1917 our international and especially military condition was so unsatisfactory that the Victorian precedent of national humiliation on a fixed day throughout the Empire was revived. The happiest results followed. The Armistice of November 1918 brought with it, as was assumed, an assured and early prospect of a general peace. It was remembered that in the later years of his public life Mr. Gladstone, in a tribute to the national virtues,

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had also hinted the reasons which made him anticipate something in the nature of public chastisement. The English, he said, had great qualities, but they needed discipline. That process began for us with a great war. For all classes and in every department, social, political and domestic, of our daily life, it has been continued with little interruption ever since. The issues in Church, State, as in every kind of intellectual activity, of science, letters, religion and art, with which the atmosphere is charged are at least as heavy in themselves, as inscrutable so far in their true significance or tendency, and as incalculable in their results, as the signs of the time in any earlier chapter of our national and imperial story. The persistence of the imperial and national, the foreign or domestic powers that make for good has been shown in these pages to unite centuries and classes by ties closer and more enduring than those rallying in hostile combination the heterogeneous and loosely coherent forces of mischief and evil.

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